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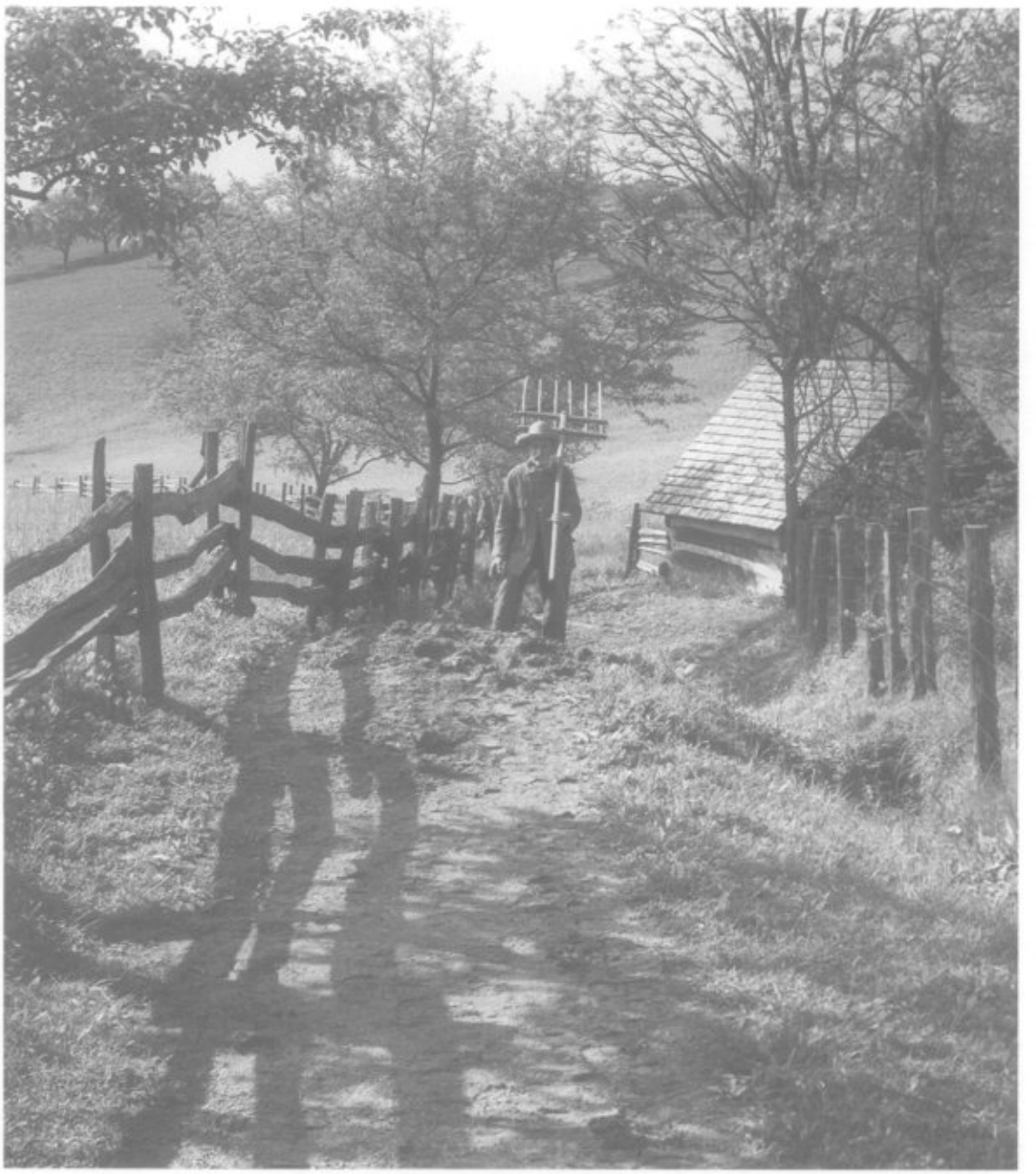
MARYLAND
Historical Magazine



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Cover: "Dan Gartling with Farm Implements, 1945," photographed by A. Aubrey Bodine. (Maryland Historical Society.)

An Imperfect Fit

In recent months a movement has taken shape to change the way the National Parks Service interprets Civil War battlefield sites to include a basic understanding of American slavery and how it caused the conflict. The new interpretation will be based on decades of superb research performed by historians who have corrected what was once the prevailing view, put forth at the turn of the nineteenth century, firmly established by 1920, and held until the 1960s, that slavery was a mild, sometimes benign institution, and that the war was brought on by a generation of bungling politicians suddenly incapable of displaying the American genius for compromise. Presumably, the final result will explain that slavery was so heinous that northerners endured the hell of civil war to end it. By implication, and certainly some evidence, southerners fought just as stubbornly to preserve slavery, and the South's "way of life."

The case for slavery as the primary cause of the Civil War is formidable. Slavery was the bloodiest of American institutions. It ravaged generations of African Americans and brought whites to one another's throats. They clashed over it in Illinois, Massachusetts, Kansas, and Virginia well before Edmund Ruffin fired the first shot on Fort Sumter. Abolitionists, despised as irresponsible radicals by their contemporaries, called for an end to the national disgrace. Maryland's Frederick Douglass, who described the physical and psychological horrors of human bondage, and Harriet Tubman, who risked her life leading slaves out of it, acquired national recognition and prices on their heads. Slavery was brutal, repulsive, shameful, and to northerners watching it expand across the republic's plain, fearsome. Clearly, it was cause enough for war.

"We're not being responsible public servants if we don't explain the history that underpins these battles," Gettysburg Chief Historian Dwight Pitcaithley is quoted as saying in *U.S. News & World Report* (September 30, 2002). "You can't possibly understand Gettysburg without understanding why these armies were at each other's throats." According to those who measure such things, visitors depart Gettysburg under the impression that it was a Confederate failure rather than celebrating it as a Union victory. George Washington University historian James Oliver Horton adds in the same article, "Not only does [that] perpetuate ignorance, it creates bias, . . . People who come with incomplete or incorrect ideas leave without having that bias challenged." The bias of which Horton speaks is the incipient sympathy that Confederates attract when their pro-slavery motives are ignored, when, in other words, battlefields are interpreted sans what should and probably will be the new historical context.

While I am in full agreement with any who say we must, all of us, realize how

terrible slavery was, and while I heartily support each and every effort to educate all in its reality and its effects on the shape of subsequent American history, one must nevertheless question the wisdom of replacing one historical orthodoxy—valiant armies, each fighting for what it thought was right—with another: the fight was about slavery, and one side was clearly wrong. The idea that the armies fought over slavery is only partly right, and to claim otherwise one must overcome significant evidence to the contrary. Some Confederates, probably a minority, did indeed go to war for slavery. But others, non-officers, the majority of the infantry and artillery, who were conscripted for the duration while wealthy, slaveowning planters were not, complained bitterly that it was a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight." Northerners were just as divided. For every Robert Gould Shaw, colonel of the 54th Massachusetts, there were dozens of northerners opposed to fighting and dying for abolition or emancipation. In 1863, six months after Lincoln's proclamation took effect, New York erupted in the worst series of riots the city had ever seen, as Irish laborers attacked blacks, for whom they refused to be conscripted and who they feared were waiting to take their low-paying jobs when the Irish boarded the troop trains. By 1864, although many of the original volunteer regiments reenlisted, the only way to get new men into the Union armies was through bounties or conscription.

The matter of why men fought has a second element, apart from ideology, that begs examination. Fighting for slavery or against it, for the Union or against "invasion," can get men to the battlefield and keep them in the army—sometimes; the numbers of those who deserted were quite large—when the battle is over, but ideals and noble purpose are generally nowhere to be found in the smoke, confusion, and sheer terror of the battle itself. That is a different dimension, one on which a good deal of work has been done by the new military historians, writers such as Gerald F. Linderman (*Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War,* 1987); Michael W. Schaefer, (*Just What War Is: The Civil War Writings of De Forest and Bierce,* 1997); John Keegan (*The Face of Battle,* 1988); and Paul Fussell, (*The Great War and Modern Memory,* 1975, and *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War,* 1989), to name a significant few. In and of themselves, battles are much more difficult to comprehend and envision than we ever thought, and arriving at some sort of understanding would not be a bad place for battlefield parks to end their formal interpretations.

Historical wisdom is notoriously fickle. It changes as new generations alter the country's politics and culture, the more so when those generations fail to remember, as they sometimes do, that the past is not the present. The Civil War is perhaps the single most complex and fascinating subject of our history. We must approach it with unending patience and care.

R.I.C.

Book Excerpt

Private Lives

DEBRA MEYERS

Recent historical work has attempted to examine the profound effect religious conflicts had on families in early modern England, but government suppression of religious expression following the Reformation closed many avenues of investigation. In the colonies, such restrictions did not apply. By examining thousands of Maryland wills and testaments from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Debra Meyers has been able to present a much clearer view not only of the effects of religion on everyday life, but of how English men, women, and children formed families and social relationships—in short, how they lived. Life in Maryland thus offers a better understanding of life in England. The editors present this chapter from her forthcoming book, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives: Free Will Christian Women in Colonial Maryland,* to be published in 2003 by Indiana University Press.

Easter was a time to commemorate the resurrection of Jesus Christ with joyful celebrations in church followed by the consumption of bountiful portions of wine and good food in the company of family and friends. Yet Easter of 1659 was not so festive for Clove Mace, who lived on St. Clement's Manor. After being beaten to a "bloudy" pulp, he raced to John Shanck's home to seek aid. Clove begged Shanck and John Gee to go to his house and confront his attackers—Clove's wife and Mr. Robin Cox. Shanck and Gee did not act immediately, but when Shanck finally confronted Clove's wife she defended her actions, saying that her husband was to blame for provoking the assault when "hee had abused Robin & her." Shanck persuaded Robin Cox and Clove's wife to agree to end the fight and "bee friends" with Clove. Probably still smarting from his wounds, Clove was reluctant at first, but he capitulated by the next night. This unfortunate event was merely another episode in the unfolding drama that was the Maces' abusive marriage. Clove had threatened "to beate" his wife on previous occasions; his wife, not taking his threats lightly, countered with threats of her own. She confided in Bartholomew Phillipps that if Clove laid a hand on her "shee would cutt his throat or poyson him." If necessary she would get John Hart "to bee revenged on him & beate him." Robin

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Cox had also confided in Phillipps that he would rearrange Clove's face, vowing that Clove would "never goe with a whole face" again if he abused his wife.[1] Unfortunately we do not know whether Clove's face was permanently disfigured in the beating, whether the Maces continued to live under the same roof, or if the marital violence ended with their pledge to "bee friends." The only thing that can be said with certainty is that Clove and his wife remained legally married until one of them died. Divorce was not an option.

Divorce was not an option for Mrs. Francis Brooke either. Her husband regularly beat her for refusing to give "the dog the pail to lick before she fetched water in it," or when she tried to eat the food that he reserved for himself. Mr. Brooke's weapon of choice was usually made of wood, such as the cane he beat her with until "he [broke] it all to pieces" and the "oaken" board that snapped "in 2 pieces on her." Brooke's violent behavior came to the court's attention after the midwife, Rose Smith, testified that his wife had delivered a dead male fetus prematurely and that "one side of the baby was all bruised." The midwife queried Mrs. Brooke, as was her duty, and she claimed that her husband had caused the baby's death when he assaulted her with a pair of large metal fireplace tongs after she ate one of his stewed "sheeps heads." Armed with this damning statement, Rose Smith demanded an explanation from Mr. Brooke, who told her that his pregnant wife had fallen out of the peach tree. To confirm his innocence, he then turned to his wife and "asked her if She did not fall out of the Peach Tree." Predictably, "She Said yes."[2]

While the Brooke family suffered because of an emotionally unstable and frequently violent husband, other families faced different travails. Robert Robins lived a "pitiful" existence with his wife, who he claimed had been unfaithful to him—so often and openly, in fact, that he frequently referred to her as "a Common whore." Criticized by his friends for tolerating such a demeaning situation, Robert threw up his hands and asked, "what would you have me doe?" Even with a "Good Wittness" to the public spectacle when "William Herde rid her from Stump to Stump," Robert knew he faced few desirable options.[3] He could continue his "pitiful" existence, he could walk away from their home, or he could file for a legal separation in court—a particularly costly and time-consuming option. Pushed beyond his limit when the "Common whore" gave birth to another man's child, Robert chose the latter option. It took two different appeals and the testimony of many witnesses before he received the judgment that he sought. He not only wanted to be rid of the "Common whore," but he desperately wanted to avoid being financially responsible for the maintenance of the child her adulterous affair had produced. After his second appearance (and much testimony), the court finally granted Robert the separation and decided that he did not owe his wife or her child any part of the couple's estate.[4] This unusual legal action, depriving a wife of her third of the estate,[5] freed him from his financial obligations to his wife, but it did not constitute a divorce; neither partner could legally remarry.[6]

Other men, such as Robert Taylor, also banished their unfaithful wives from their homes after they gave birth to another man's child.[7] This drastic action was not new, nor was it without risks. Early modern couples in England separated when partners were unfaithful or their differences proved to be insurmountable, as is demonstrated by the formal contracts of separation in the legal formulary of lawyer John Taylor.[8] In both England and Maryland abandonment or banishment of a spouse may have meant being ostracized from the community (depending on the circumstances of the split), losing control over the use of property, and possibly forfeiting the expected share of the estate after the decease of the other partner. Many times, Maryland husbands continued to acknowledge their legal economic obligation to their estranged wives, bequeathing them one-third of the estate in their wills—if they came back to claim it—while others felt betrayed and vengeful and attempted to prevent their wives from claiming what was rightfully theirs. Allexander Chappell bequeathed his entire estate to his good friend Ann Chew, the wife of merchant Samuell Chew, with the exception of one shilling left to his wife, Elizabeth, because "of her unfaithfull Carriage and behaviour to me." As the unfortunate victim who hoped that the courts would not recognize his wife's right to one-third of his estate if she came back to claim it, Chappell explained in his will how his wife had left him and his "familly in ye greatest Streights & Wants" by "keeping Company with a Strange man to her owne great dishonour and my great greife."[9] While Marylanders did not sue for divorce in the seventeenth century, some sought legal ratification of informal separations when marriages failed, particularly when the family had enough property to warrant such action.[10] Historian Mary Beth Norton has noted that unlike Allexander Chappell, who used his will to settle property issues, other estranged couples divided their assets in court. Norton notes that "in October 1656 the Provincial Court confirmed a division of assets worked out by a husband and wife who 'were minded to live a sunder.'"[11]

Edward and Ruth Stevens opted for a non-traditional relationship rather than the more popular alternative of separation when their marriage failed. It is impossible to say whether it failed because Ruth was unable to have children or for other reasons. Still, they stayed together as husband and wife while Edward spent his free time with Florence Tucker. When he died, Edward left Ruth more than two hundred and thirty acres of land and one-third of the personal estate in household goods to use for the rest of her life, provided that she "make use of them as to her own propper interest & benefitt." The remainder of the estate—and Ruth's share when she died—went to the "three sonns of Florence Tucker comonly called & known by the names of Edward Stevens, William Stevens, and John Stevens."[12] Edward had produced heirs outside his marriage while also fulfilling his economic obligations to his legal wife. We can only speculate about the relationship Ruth and Florence shared, for Edward's will may indicate a *ménage à trois.* At the very least, Edward forced the two women into some semblance of cooperation, since he

named his mistress his executrix, responsible for collecting the debts and distributing the property outlined in his will.[13]

The difficulties associated with some marriages and the absence of divorce influenced a few colonists when they decided not to marry legally. Colonists like St. Mary's County merchant George Yeedon chose to forego marriage but still secured his non-traditional family's welfare. When he died, George left a small token of his affection to his brother in Ireland—three hogsheads of tobacco—and the rest of his sizable estate to his joint executors, the woman he lived with, Elizabeth Shankes, and her son John.[14] George provided for his family without ever having made a traditional spiritual and legal commitment to his life-partner. It is possible that Yeedon and Shankes were unable to legally marry; one or both of them may have been already married to someone else. Others in the province, like Dr. John Wade, found themselves in similar situations. It appears that Wade had a wife and two children in England but set up housekeeping with Anne Smith in Maryland until she deserted him. Maybe as his last peace offering or as a symbol of his undying devotion to Smith, Wade left her a sizable estate in land and personal goods if she and their illegitimate child returned to Maryland to claim it after his death.[15]

By not entering into a formal marriage contract with Katherine St. George, Catholic widower Bryan O'Daly secured his estate for his legitimate son and daughter. Bryan stipulated in his will that Katherine, who claimed to be carrying his child, should continue to care for his legitimate son and daughter after his death. Attentive to his parental duties, he also provided for the basic needs of food and clothing in addition to four years of formal education for his unborn offspring.[16] For Katherine, this pragmatic arrangement assured that she and her baby would continue to have a place to live and food to eat. She also could find comfort in the fact that the education Bryan paid for would provide a modicum of security for her child's future. Surely this was a satisfactory bargain for Bryan as well. He procured a caregiver for his two young children—someone he and his children knew well—and kept nearly all of his estate intact for the use of his legitimate children when they became adults. Unfortunately Bryan did not state his reasons for treating his legitimate and illegitimate offspring differently, but we might venture a guess. It may have been that his deceased wife had provided most (if not all) of the land and household goods he shared with Katherine. If this was so, we could easily understand his refusal to bequeath Katherine's child an equal share of the family's wealth. This might also explain why Bryan never legally married Katherine. Because he had not formalized their union, he took for granted that the courts would not recognize Katherine's right to one-third of his estate after he died and thus his deceased wife's property could be preserved for her children.

Other couples fully intended to solemnize their unions, but sudden death prevented them from completing their plans. When Rice Williams fell ill at Colonel William Digges's house at Notley Hall, he drew up a will on February 6, 1684,

revealing his unfinished marriage plans. Rose Pinner had moved in with Rice after she buried her husband and they looked forward to formalizing their union when the itinerant clergyman passed their way.[17] Rice expected to recover from his illness, and he optimistically instructed Rose "to looke after his house in his absence." Still, he recognized the very real possibility of his demise and he wanted to protect his new partner's belongings if his estate was inventoried and then liquidated to pay off his debts. Thus he declared that Rose had "brought into his house one Feather bed & boulster one Rugg and two blanketts and pewter dishes" in addition to the highly prized "Iron Kettle." These items and "all the wearing cloathes" that had once belonged to Rice's dead wife were Rose's property, separate from Rice's estate.[18] Rose and Rice chose this unconventional, albeit temporary, living arrangement because they knew how short life could be in colonial Maryland; each had buried at least one spouse already.

Rose and Rice delayed their marriage because of the frontier conditions in the new province. While Rose and Rice chose to live together without the benefit of clergy, other partners sought to have their unions publicly recognized in "irregular" ceremonies—without the sacramental blessing of a priest. After having given birth, Elesabeth Lockett testified in court that she and Thomas Bright had followed the English espousal rite—breaking "a peace of munye [a gold or silver coin] . . . betwext" them, in front of witnesses.[19] To be sure, Elesabeth must have hoped that the couple would, at the very least, rejoin the two coin halves in a clandestine ceremony sometime after the initial rite and then live together as husband and wife before her baby was born.[20] The court would have recognized this traditional coin-breaking ritual as a legal and binding contract had Thomas not already been legally married to another woman. Of course we cannot determine whether or not Thomas really was married at the time. In England the ecclesiastical courts were sometimes tricked into voiding legal marriages through jactitation, in which a third party falsely alleged that the spouse petitioning for a separation had already been married to him or her. When ecclesiastical courts pronounced a marriage null and void for ignoring accepted legal requirements, any offspring produced by the couple were then recognized as illegitimate (which prohibited them from claiming any inheritance) and the couple had no property rights stemming from the relationship.

Other examples of irregular marriages proved by citing the traditional espousal rite of breaking a gold or silver coin exist. Yet it is difficult to uncover how extensive irregular marriages were in the province, since we gain a glimpse into these unions only when they appear in the legal records, as in the case of Mary Cole and Joseph Edlow's contested marriage.[21] A layman named Thomas Seamor "read the prayer and the matrimony" from the Arminian Anglican Book of Common Prayer, as a priest would have done, to join Joseph and Mary as husband and wife before they "did lie together." Attempting to establish the legitimacy of the pro-

ceedings, Samuell Gosey testified that "he heard Seamor say that he read more than the minister used to read." This particular example was preserved in the official provincial documents because Mary, an indentured servant, had failed to get the approval of her master, Henry Coursey, before committing herself to Joseph. Mary further complicated the matter by already being married to Thomas Breamstead.[22]

Certainly other couples allowed laymen to join them together in irregular marriages, and they may have lived as common-law husbands and wives for their entire lives without incident, just as couples did back in England. In Maryland (as in England) irregular marriages were recognized as legitimate, indissoluble unions even though no licensing or solemnization took place. As long as they had exchanged words signifying a verbal contract (preferably in front of at least two witnesses) and lived in the community as a married couple, men and women considered themselves married for life. Their communities recognized these unions as legally binding as long as the partners were consenting free adults and their unions did not violate the incest taboos outlined in the "Table of Kindred and Affinity" (figure 1). Couples joined in irregular marriage thought of their offspring as legitimate and they distributed family property in much the same way that "regularly" married folks did. Such marriages must have been fairly common in the province, for in 1702, while Maryland was under the temporary control of the Crown, the Crown passed "An Act for the establishment of religious worship in this Province," insisting "That Marriages forbidden by the Table of Marriages of the Church of England be not performed," and "that no marriage be performed by a layman in any Parish where a Minister or Incumbent shall reside."[23]

These intriguing examples of dysfunctional and irregular marriages indicate a wide range of means by which men and women shared their lives and property in the early modern province of Maryland. However, an examination of the "regular" marriages and the kinship networks they formed will underscore the larger thesis of this book about diverse religious customs in early modern Maryland. English society had long promoted legal marriages for the maintenance of an orderly society which, in turn, encouraged property ownership and capital accumulation. When enough property was involved, couples (then as well as now) recognized the need for legally and religiously sanctioned marriages to ensure that their estates would be preserved for their children and future generations, rather than wasted in funding legal disputes. Additionally, by participating in traditional religious marriage rites, new families established themselves as conforming church members, confirming and securing their status and position in the larger community. No less important to many of these families was the religious significance of marriage as a holy sacrament that symbolized their spiritual unity with God.

Most landholding men and women in Maryland chose their life-long partners with care and did so largely free from overt parental coercion. Governor Calvert's

Figure 1: Table of Kindred and Affinity

A Man May Not Marry His	*A Woman May Not Marry Her*
1. Grandmother	1. Grandfather
2. Grandmother's wife	2. Grandmother's husband
3. Wife's grandmother	3. Husband's grandfather
4. Father's sister	4. Father's brother
5. Mother's sister	5. Mother's brother
6. Father's brother's wife	6. Father's sister's husband
7. Mother's brother's wife	7. Mother's sister's husband
8. Wife's father's sister	8. Husband's father's brother
9. Wife's mother's sister	9. Husband's mother's brother
10. Mother	10. Father
11. Step-mother	11. Step-father
12. Wife's mother	12. Husband's father
13. Daughter	13. Son
14. Wife's daughter	14. Husband's son
15. Son's Wife	15. Daughter's husband
16. Sister	16. Brother
17. Wife's sister	17. Husband's brother
18. Brother's wife	18. Sister's husband
19. Son's daughter	19. Son's son
20. Daughter's daughter	20. Daughter's son
21. Son's son's wife	21. Son's daughter's husband
22. Wife's son's daughter	22. Daughter's daughter's husband
23. Daughter's son's wife	23. Husband's son's son
24. Wife's daughter's daughter	24. Husband's daughter's son
25. Brother's daughter	25. Brother's son
26. Sister's daughter	26. Sister's son
27. Brother's son's wife	27. Brother's daughter's husband
28. Sister's son's wife	28. Sister's daughter's husband
29. Wife's brother's daughter	29. Husband's brother's son
30. Wife's sister's daughter	30. Husband's sister's son

letter to Lord Baltimore in 1672 expressed this limited freedom: "I am sorry my [cousin] Lukner thinkes not of Marryinge yett, because that Match would have Brought a great deale of Honnour besid[e]s the Advantages of a Plentifull fortune."[24] Mothers and fathers—presumably confident that their successful parenting strategies meant they could rely on their children's judgments—allowed their children a great deal of personal choice when it came to selecting marriage partners.[25] This custom indicates that many early Marylanders accepted the dictates of (Catho-

lic) canon law in this regard. As long as two consenting adults were not breaking any incest taboos, a priest would marry them without parental confirmation. Priests were not under any obligation to even inform parents of the marriage.

Following this tradition, which was based on the ubiquitous belief in free will, less than five percent of the 3190 testators leaving wills between 1634 and 1713 in Maryland sought to limit their children's selection of a mate. These few cases included testators who had serious misgivings concerning a particular candidate. Jane Long, for instance, left her daughter Tabitha twenty thousand pounds of tobacco, a bed, and some livestock, but only if she did not marry George Chaney. Another testator, John Phillips, stipulated that his sons Thomas and Bennony "shall not Marry w[i]th any of [John] Robsons daughters" or the boys would not collect their inheritance.[26] These examples might represent parental efforts to discourage a child from shackling him- or herself to a mate with a serious character flaw, or the interference might be motivated by a family feud over disputed property. In either case, these limited numbers of parental restrictions found in the testamentary evidence usually focused on a single individual or clan and suggest to us that if parents influenced their children's decisions, the interference was normally much more subtle than in these examples.

Less intrusive were the parental stipulations that children must choose partners who professed the same faith or obtain the consent of a guardian or the surviving parent to wed. Mareen Duvall left his ten children portions of a huge estate when he died, cautioning that if his unmarried offspring "shall inter Marry with any particular person without the knowledge and advice or Consent of [my wife] that then it shall be left to the Discretion of my [wife] wether to assisst them with the aforesaid moneys that is bequeathed and granted to them."[27] Most Marylanders who sought to influence their children's marriage decisions, however, expressed the less constraining sentiments of Widower George Allumby, who simply asked his daughter Dorothy to take on the responsibility and ownership of the family estate when she was seventeen or when she married, "provided she marry not und[e]r Sixteene yeares of age."[28] Marylanders generally adhered, like most English people, to a central Catholic tenet—marriage could only take place when the couple entered into it of their own free will. Any evidence of compulsion would be grounds for an annulment.

Joan Scott and Louise Tilly, in their classic work *Women, Work, and the Family,* suggest that while parents allowed their children to choose their spouses without overt pressure, they limited their children's choices by restricting the pool of potential partners. These parents sought to preserve social status and wealth by allying their children with a limited group of similarly wealthy families. Thus, "parental consent functioned as a verification of the couple's resources." Yet Patricia Seed in her study of colonial Mexico argues persuasively that religious beliefs determined whether or not parental consent was sought when couples wanted to

marry. Calvinists, with their "emphasis on . . . fathers . . . and the patriarchal family," stressed obedience "even if a marriage were contrary to what the child wanted or needed." On the other hand, Arminian Anglicans and Roman Catholics, in keeping with their free-will theology, granted their children the "right to marry of their own free will." This fundamental difference suggests that Calvinists "granted civil authorities the right to regulate all aspects of marriage" while the free will Christians thought that marriage was a private affair.[29] This framework, as we shall see, seems to fit the Maryland situation.

We gain a rare glimpse into the colonists' courtship rituals through George Alsop's observations in 1666, intended to promote immigration to the new colony. He described the young men as "confident, reservedly subtle, quick in apprehending, but slow in resolving." He, and others, could not help but notice how practical and acquisitive these men were, who could "spy profit sailing towards them" quicker than men could back home. Maryland women were very similar in this respect. This pragmatic and entrepreneurial society extended its practicality to courtship rites. When approached by a potential marriage partner women were "bashful at the first view, but after a continuance of time hath brought them acquainted, there they become discreetly familiar, and are much more talkative then men." Marylanders had jettisoned the very formal rites of courtship found in wealthy circles back in England. Here women preferred "plain wit" and not "the Tautologies of a long-winded speech" that traditionally turned women's heads. Without such straightforward discourse a man would "fall under the contempt of her frown, and his own windy Oration."[30] Alsop's observations suggest that couples had a good deal of freedom in selecting an appropriate mate of "plain wit."

An unsuccessful courtship preserved in the provincial court records reveals colonial expectations regarding this rite of passage. Robert Harwood, evidently physically attracted to young Elizabeth Gary, followed her around, softening her heart with his "plain wit" and declarations of his love for her. After a year of this, Robert went with Elizabeth to collect vegetables from her mother's garden and there he persuaded her to "lie with him." Her family did not appear to have been concerned when the couple failed to return in a timely fashion. During the previous year, Robert and Elizabeth had probably engaged in love play, fondling, or other public displays of affection that would have suggested to the community and Elizabeth's family that they intended to marry.[31] English culture, generally speaking, accepted sexual relations between betrothed couples. Elizabeth, however, did not want to marry Robert, which is why this case came to the court's attention. Following sexual intercourse, Robert told her that she neither should "nor could have any other man but him," yet Elizabeth had not been interested in marrying him before the "filthy act he committed with [her]" and had no intention of marrying him after the "filthy act." Robert believed that their physical union would impel his beloved to marry him when his "plain wit" apparently was not doing the

trick. Elizabeth's refusal to marry Robert after their "filthy act" presented a problem for Elizabeth's family. Anxious to have the matter settled, her stepfather, Peter Sharpe, drew up a contract with Robert stipulating that he would have six weeks to convince Elizabeth to marry him, and if she still refused, Robert would have to leave her alone. Their meetings would be chaperoned to ensure that Elizabeth's decision was based not on hormonal desires or unfair coercion but on "plain wit."[32] This unusual courtship underscores a landholding family's insistence upon marriage relationships based on love and companionship.

The lack of compulsion in Maryland encouraged most young women entering marriage as landholders to cultivate partnerships based on love and companionship—as in the Smith and Lytfoot cases.[33] In 1678, Arminian Anglican priest John Yeo described a woman who deeply loved her husband. Probably because Mrs. Smith could not write, Yeo wrote to Henry Smith, who was attending to business in New York, that "Mrs Smith presents her Affections to you, she is mightily troubled at your absence."[34] Others thought so much of their life-long companions that they used sacred terms when referring to them. Completely devoted to his wife, Rebecca, Catholic Thomas Lytfoot referred to her as his "most loving & affectionat comforter on this Earth," equating her, his earthly comforter, with the Holy Ghost, his "Holy Comforter."[35] Thus, for his survival on earth and his eternal salvation after his death, Thomas Lytfoot depended upon the love of both his wife and the Holy Ghost.

The devotional literature in the library of the Neales, a leading Catholic family, contains many references to the religious marriage of souls with Christ, and in these we can uncover the prescriptive views of Maryland Roman Catholics on marriage. The author of *A Memorial of a Christian Life* (1688) described the ideals that formed the foundation of an English Roman Catholic marriage, stating, "Behold, the Bridegroom [Christ] cometh, go forth to meet him. For in effect, there is no Sacrament, in which our Lord so openly declares himself to be the Bridegroom of our Souls, as in the Sacrament of the Eucharist; its proper Effect is to unite to him the Soul of the Communicant, and to make of two but one thing; which is indeed a spiritual Alliance. That you may then go forth to meet this Bridegroom . . . He comes to you, full of Charity, Goodness, Sweetness, and Mercy."[36] In addition to contributing to our understanding of English Catholic theology, this text, and others like it, intimates the spiritual ideal behind marriage and the expectation that marriage would be a gratifying partnership and an "Alliance." Katherine Digby, in her manuscript of spiritual exercises, described a true believer's marriage with God as a sensual, mutually satisfying relationship between lovers.[37] Catholic sermons given in Maryland also insisted on marital partnership. Jesuit priest Peter Attwood portrayed fathers and mothers as tender partners when he preached in the province. Attwood insisted that children recognize both their parents as coauthorities to be reckoned with, though they possessed the patience and forgiveness of Jesus, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Holy Ghost, and God. And if the admo-

nitions in these sermons accurately reflected social behavior, these marriage partners engaged in pleasurable and sensual "delights" as well.[38]

Jesuits, strategically stationed throughout the province, officiated at the marriages of white English Catholics and any Arminian Anglicans who sought their sacral rites. These Jesuits also encouraged Native Americans to convert and then blessed their unions by marrying them according to the sacramental rites of the church. Moreover, Jesuits insisted that their black slaves be formally married, even if they had to purchase a slave's mate from another owner in order to accomplish this. Marriage was one of the seven holy sacraments for these Catholics and the ceremony emphasized the participants' renewal and ratification of their special relationship to God as an outward and visible sign of the partners' internal grace. Because it was a sacrament, the Catholic Church considered marriage indissoluble. Catholics were also forbidden to marry during certain times of the year. An old verse outlines the seasonal restrictions: "When Advent comes do thou refraine / Till Hillary set thee free again/ Next Septuagesima saith thee nay / But when Low Sunday comes thou may/ Yet at Rogation thou must tarrie / Till Trinitie shall bid thee marry." A fifteenth-century English lawyer suggested that marriage contracts could be drawn up during these periods, but matrimony was not to be solemnized "from the first Sunday in Advent until the octave of Epiphany exclusive; and from Septuagesima Sunday to the first Sunday after Easter inclusive; and from the first Rogation day until the 7th day after Pentecost inclusive."[39] Accordingly, most Roman Catholics married immediately after Easter, in June, or in December.[40] Ceremonies often took place on Sunday mornings so that most of the community could witness the rite in a reasonably sober state. It is no coincidence, therefore, that Calvinist Puritans avoided Sunday weddings and had no restrictions on the time of day of a wedding in their never-ending efforts to distance themselves from "popish" practices.

According to English custom, after a couple agreed to marry, the man gave the woman a betrothal ring to wear on her right hand. This ring was often inscribed with a loving phrase that stated the partners' commitment to each other. Marylanders followed this custom, for numerous examples of such rings have been unearthed at Historic Saint Mary's City. Traditionally, the signing of the dowry contract in front of witnesses followed the ring-giving ritual; in Maryland, a will could serve as the written confirmation of an oral dowry contract. Wealthy Catholic Henry Darnell employed his will to confirm the many marriage contracts he had made for his daughters. Promises had been made to potential in-laws and his will outlined them. He wrote, "Itt is my will that whereas I have marryed unto the land Mr Clement Hill my Daughter Ann Darnall and upon the Said marriage have entered with him & Mr Clement Hill Senr. into certain articles it is I say my will & I doe hereby appoint order and Empower my Exec[u]t[or] [his son] hereafter Named fully to performe all the Said articles to all Intents and Purposes."[41]

On the day of the sacramental ceremony, the officiating priest celebrated Mass and, after the consecration of the Eucharist, gave a nuptial benediction while the couple stood under a cloth or veil (called a pallium). The betrothal ring was blessed by the priest and transferred from the woman's right to her left hand. As the newlyweds left the church they were crowned and a wedding breakfast of blessed wine, cake, biscuits, or bread was served at the church. Back in England these festive celebrations often got so out of hand that a publication advised people not to allow children to attend weddings, "for nowadays one can learn nothing there but ribaldry and foul words."[42]

The vast majority of Arminian Anglican men and women who owned or stood to inherit real estate sought a religiously sanctioned legal union that closely mirrored the Roman Catholic one. Arminian Anglican Robert Ridgly acknowledged this in his will when he wrote, "my Dear and well beloved wife Martha Ridgly with whom I joined myself in the face of God refusing all other women in the blessed Estate of Honable wedlock by whom also by the blessing of God I have now 3 sons and one Daughter living."[43] The candlelight wedding of the young William Dent and his bride Elizabeth Fowke sheds some light on colonists' wishes to recreate the solemn ritual and festive celebrations of marriage they had enjoyed in England. Arminian Anglican priest John Turlinge—fully licensed by "the Hon'ble Wm Diggs Esq." to perform marriages in the province—officiated at the ceremony in Elizabeth's mother's home on February 8, 1684/5. If this couple followed English tradition, William transferred Elizabeth's espousal ring from her right hand to her left thumb, then to her second, third, and fourth fingers (thought to contain the vein that led directly to her heart), while reciting "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen."[44] This particular young couple shared their happiness with family and friends by inviting "Mrs. Anne Fowke, Coll. William Chandler, Mad'm Mary Chandler, Mr. Gerard Fowke, Mrs Mary Fowke, Owen Newen, & Divers others" to attend both the ceremony and the subsequent feast.[45] These relatives and friends may have donned the traditional rosemary or bay leaves meant to ensure the couple's happiness.

The Arminian Anglican Book of Common Prayer used in the wedding ceremony followed the Catholic Sarum Missal's nuptial rites quite closely, with a few minor adaptations. Like the Catholics, Arminian Anglicans were subject to the requirement, first promulgated by Pope Nicholas in 866, to make four public announcements, called banns, of the couple's intention to marry. These banns allowed any member of the community to object to the union if the couple were known to be related to each other or if one of the betrothed had already promised him- or herself to another partner. For the Roman Catholics these announcements were made during the regular church services preceding the wedding. The Arminian Anglicans followed this procedure but allowed the fourth to be made during the marriage ceremony itself. In Maryland these banns also played an es-

sential economic role. Before solemnization, the public posting of banns was a way to ensure that no minors, couples "within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity" (i.e., related to each other), or "precontracted" people (indentured servants or those already promised to another) would marry. An indentured servant's "unfree" status would make a marriage illegal unless the master had consented to the union. After 1658 a couple had to post banns three weeks prior to solemnization, allowing for any objections to be made public, and then they obtained a certificate declaring their free status that entitled them to marry.[46]

The Arminian Anglicans also strayed from tradition when the priest said a prayer for the couple as the betrothal ring was transferred to the left hand during the (pallium-less) ceremony rather than blessing the ring with holy water, as a Catholic priest would have done. Influenced by the Lutherans, Anglican authorities had also added the phrase "those whom God hath joined, let no man put asunder" to the traditional rite in the Book of Common Prayer. Finally, the Arminian Anglican priest delivered a sermon on married life and the newlyweds left the church without being crowned. Despite these minor alterations, the rites were similar enough that an Arminian Anglican couple might seek the sanctification of their union by a Roman Catholic priest—since both groups believed that marriage was a holy sacrament—if the short supply of Arminian Anglican priests meant a long delay in completing their marriage plans.

The English Puritans, on the other hand, embraced a very different set of rituals, and their conception of marriage was radically different from that of the Arminian Anglicans and Roman Catholics. This difference stands out most clearly in the Puritans' refusal to use the Book of Common Prayer because of its "popish" origins. In fact, when they came to power in England the Puritans eliminated the book's use in religious services in 1645 and replaced it with *The Directory of Public Worship,* which cleansed religious worship of all the Roman Catholic-derived ceremonies and rites. This leads us to believe that the Puritans (and other Calvinists) in Maryland did not follow the Book of Common Prayer during a formal wedding ceremony. And since the Calvinists reduced the number of sacraments from seven (baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and matrimony) to two (baptism and the Lord's Supper), they stripped the wedding ceremony of its religious significance by making it merely a secular, legal union. Because they refused to recognize "popish" canon law, it was the Puritans who initiated the first *civil* directive in England (1645) making three banns mandatory before a valid marriage could take place.[47] Taking the secularization of marriage to its ultimate conclusion, partners in incestuous marriages were guilty of a felony in England by 1650. An incestuous marriage and the children it produced were not recognized by the state, and the couple could face death sentences if brought to court for their illegal act. And while no one in Maryland was executed for marrying his or her relative, we can assume that Calvinists in early Maryland supported

the secularization of marriage, since they detested anything that smacked of "popery" and they supported the Interregnum regime. We might also assume that Calvinists in early Maryland adopted Oliver Cromwell's 1653 decision that marriages would be civil ceremonies performed by a magistrate—not a minister or priest—in the presence of two witnesses.[48] Not surprisingly, the use of a ring was forbidden.[49]

Whether a Puritan couple sought a civil magistrate or engaged Arminian Anglicans or Catholics chose a priest to officiate at their wedding—at the cost of one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco—the Maryland Assembly decided that the traditional vows should be recited. The Assembly required that each and every couple wishing to be legally married hold hands before at least two witnesses and repeat the following words: "I [name] doe take thee [spouse's name] to my wedded [wife or husband] To have and to hould from this day forward for better or worse for Rich or for Poore in Sickness & in health till death us do part and thereto I plight thee my troth." After this the priest or magistrate declared, "I being hereunto by law authorised doe pronounce you lawful man and wife."[50]

Quakers in the province, like the Arminian Anglicans and Roman Catholics and unlike the Puritans, sought religiously sanctioned marriages. Quaker Meeting records reveal that when two people decided to marry they first approached the Men's and Women's Meetings to ask for permission. This had to be done in person and repeated the following month, and then the couple submitted a formal written request to marry. This procedure, similar to the English banns, allowed the entire adult community to pass judgment on the proposed union while it also gave the young couple time to think about their important decision. The Quakers focused on other issues as well as incestuous relationships and prior commitments to other people. Were the two candidates well suited to each other? Did they realize the magnitude of the commitment they were undertaking or were they merely acting impulsively, out of physical attraction? An English Quaker marriage manual suggested that God's answers to these questions would be revealed during the three-month waiting period. The author cautioned men and women to "be watchful that you run not forth in a hasty eager mind among your selves, but waite that ye may have clearnesse in the counsel of the Lord."[51] Presumably the three-month-long process assured the community that the couple took their commitment seriously and that God had confirmed the union. Convinced of their sincerity and the desirability of the match, the community gathered to witness the formal wedding ceremony, as it did for William Southbee and Eliza Read in 1668. At Isaac Abrahms's house, William "solemnly in the fear of God, took Elizabeth Read . . . spinster, to be his wife; and she, the said Elizabeth Read, did then and there, in the like manner, take the said William Southbee to be her husband, each of them promising to be faithful to each other."[52] Those attending the ceremony dutifully signed their names as witnesses in the Meeting's record book.

The Quakers' requirement of a three-month-long process—approximately

three times the minimum waiting period for Arminian Anglicans and Catholics—underlines their disdain of the notions of love at first sight, overwhelming passion between two people, and sex with non-Quakers. Influential Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic stressed, in both speeches and writings, the importance of marrying within the faith. William Smith presented a blissful picture of marriage between two Quakers in his advice manual when he wrote that "The Honourable Marriage is in the Seed of God, Male and Female in the seed are one, and lies down together in the bed undefiled, where God blesseth them and their Seeds Seed for ever." He warned his readers to beware "lest the Sons and daughters of strangers [non-Quakers] entice any of your minds to join with them, and so you goe into the defiled bed and loose the honour."[53] This message did not fall on deaf ears, yet not every young couple followed this advice, either. Quaker Rachel Hall, for instance, married Arminian Anglican Walter Smith in 1686 and they lived happily together for twenty-five years before Walter died. Rachel and Walter's "disorderly" union was not as unusual as the Maryland Quaker leaders would have liked. Cleaving to the canon law requirement that couples must enter into unions of their own free will, Quaker Meeting record books exhorted young people not to "go disorderly together in Marriage" or "go to the Priest or Magistrate to be Married."[54] More than a few young Quakers, whether wishing to marry a "stranger" or simply eager to marry before the waiting period had ended, sought out priests like Arminian Anglican James Clayland, who gladly performed the sacred ritual for a fee.

These prohibitions highlight the Quaker belief that sexual purity and a marriage partnership between two devoted Quakers were necessary for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Quaker prescriptive literature also admonished couples for "Hunt[ing] after one another and then Leave[ing] one another [to] goe to Others."[55] English Quaker William Smith agreed when he suggested that the "Covenant of Marriage is to be preserved by not allowing your eyes to wander." Remaining faithful to a partner might ensure that "you will die a satisfied, content person." Quaker marriage partners need not be equals in "outward substance" (wealth) or close in age, but they would be happy if they were "thus joined together of the Lord, & abides faithful with him, his blessing rests upon them every way, & he preserves them."[56]

Non-Quaker English marriage manuals came to the same conclusions about the importance of love. Love at first sight, marrying for money, and marrying to please one's parents were not recipes for happy unions. One author adamantly warned parents not to arrange marriages for their children. If they dealt "with their Childrens Marriages, as they do with their Fruit Trees," parents would "soon find, that the Minister can only joyn their hands, but 'tis the free-will offering of the heart, that can only unite and Graft their affections together." Moreover, "this free-will offering is to be led by Love, not drawn by the Cords of Wedlock, for the Will is a free faculty, and consequently cannot be forcibly determined to any act,

but yet is capable of admitting perswasions, and inducements, and so may be by them inclin'd but without them cannot be forced."[57] Once a proper mate was selected, the couple ought to be "as two oxen that draw together in one yoke." Manuals also argued that because "two eyes see more than one [and] two hands despatch more business than one," a wife should be an economic partner as well.[58]

Unlike the Quaker literature, other English manuals condemned the marriage of an older woman to a younger man and the equally "unnatural" union between an old man and a young woman. One author described both of these "unnatural" conditions as "Match[es] fitter to make sport for others, than to raise joy to themselves," for only partners with similar sexual appetites and physical abilities could find true happiness here on earth.[59] Thus it was important for partners to be reasonably close in age. In practice, English men and women tended to select mates that were similar in age, and they married for the first time when they were in their mid- to late twenties, unless they were from the very wealthiest families. However, in Maryland, where high mortality rates throughout the seventeenth century disrupted the normal English marriage patterns, sixteen-year-old girls occasionally married considerably older men, sometimes with foreseeable results.[60] Perhaps more than a few of these young Maryland brides found sexual fulfillment in extramarital affairs, if we can rely on the examples discussed at the beginning of this chapter found in the court records and the land-naming practices in the province that provide clues about female behavior. An inordinate number of land parcels with names like "Cuckold Maker's Palace," "Cuckold's Delight," "Cuckold's Desire," "Cuckold's Hope," "Cuckold's Mess," "Cuckold's Point," and "Cuckold's Rest" suggests a significant level of frustration with female infidelity amongst some Maryland husbands.[61]

This frustration with female infidelity did not, however, afflict the entire society. Although Maryland was not a matrilineal society, Marylanders did value the contributions of females in the formation of new families. After all, fathers often left their young daughters real estate that would become theirs when they reached sixteen or when they married. When the wealthy colonist Ignatius Causine gave his daughter Jane, Jr., one hundred and fifty acres of land if she chose to marry a propertyless man, he allowed Jane to enter marriage from a position of authority.[62] A daughter combined her wealth with that of a chosen mate's and the new couple worked to increase the estate in order to provide legacies for their children. Owning land at marriage entitled women to exert power within the family, as we see in the will of Arminian Anglican Henry Hyde, who gave his "Loving wife Frances" total control of their estate "for the Childrens use during her life *with as much freedom as it were I my self in my lifetime* [emphasis added]."[63] When a husband died, he left his wife at least one-third of the estate—and in many cases much more than that—"to be absolutely att the disposall and discression of my Said wife . . . to doe with the Same what shall seeme good unto her."[64] A widow normally remar-

ried soon after her husband's decease to form a new partnership and household as well as to augment the original family's coffers.

With the death of a second husband a widow ideally had accumulated a substantial estate—including wealth from her father and husbands—which she, in turn, passed down to her children.[65] Men allowed women this option, for we see their testamentary patterns supporting it. Accordingly, Katharine Wright's husband, Arthur, acquiesced to her demand that he revise his will to ensure her ability to accumulate wealth. Lawyer Michael Miller testified that when Katharine asked him if her husband's will protected her rights "to hold the Land" and he replied that it was not foolproof, she then "desired this Deponent [Miller] to aske him [Arthur] if he would make another will" to ensure Katharine's complete control over their estate.[66] Arthur, accepting his wife's objections, agreed to a new will. Arthur and Katharine's story seems to confirm the seventeenth-century statement made by Sir Charles Cornwallis: "From the time of Adam (whoe had the firste taste of the force of a womans perswasions) untill this daye, many more wilbe found perswaded by their wives, then wives by their Husbands."[67]

The vast majority of legally married partners stayed together for the duration of their lives and began producing children soon after their nuptials.[68] Pregnancy held out the hope of creating healthy, sensible heirs that could continue the family name and provide valuable labor during the farm-building stage of colonial development.[69] Puritans in England seem to have placed a particularly strong emphasis on having children. Many prominent early modern English Puritan ministers, such as Robert Cleaver, Henry Smith, William Perkins, Alexander Nicholes, and William Gouge, stressed procreation as the primary purpose of marriage.[70] The women and men in Maryland who wrote about pregnancy chose gender-inclusive terms—couched in biblical phrases—when referring to their unborn offspring, speaking of a woman being "with child" or of having a "child in my wives womb."[71] Colonists occasionally mentioned the possibility of having twins, as did John Carrington when he wrote, "the Child or Children that my wife now goeth with."[72] Maryland will writers—particularly Arminian Anglicans, Quakers, and Roman Catholics—hoped for healthy children without articulating a strong preference for male heirs. Testators expressing a desire for male children in New England wills did so when they adhered to a patriarchal hierarchy in which male children were more valued for their ability to continue a family name or provide for their parents in their old age. English historian Amy Louise Erickson has noted an English pattern similar to Maryland's, in that "An overt preference for boy children in early modern England [was] relatively rare."[73]

Marylanders thought of their offspring as children from the time of quickening—when a mother first felt fetal movement—until they became adults.[74] Quakers and Roman Catholics seemed to mention pregnancy more frequently than other testators did, though only a small number of wills referred to the possibility

at all. This is peculiar, considering the large number of children women bore during their lifetime. High mortality rates probably kept many parents from placing too much emphasis on the prospect of another pregnancy, as we see in the will of Quaker John Hance.[75] In a codicil to his will, John added,

> And whereas my wife soposes her self to be with Child my will is that if She be now with Child & that it Shall Live to attain its full age to Receive a portion according to Law. . . . In Case my Daughter Elizabeth Shall happen to dye before She attain her full age and without Lawfull Issue of her body that then her part & portion of my Estate as above shall be to the Child my wife Expects She Goes with but if my wife be not now w[i]th Child or if She be & the Child dye before itt Shall attain its full age according to Law then my son Benjamin & his heirs to have all the Right.[76]

Quaker Thomas Everendon aptly summed up the process of child-rearing as "a pilgrimage of Tears" in this era when nearly one-third of the infants born did not live to see their first birthday.[77]

This stark reality, however, did not prevent parents from bonding with their children. Early modern English literature abounds with examples of warm and affectionate relationships between children and their parents. In England, Anne Dormer, for instance, wrote to her son in 1691, calling him her "first love" that she valued "above her own flesh."[78] This was replicated in the Catholic province, where Marylanders also expressed their love for their children above most others.[79] Widow Elizabeth Harper felt the same about her granddaughters and grandsons, as she left each one some livestock "in Consideration of the naturall Love I beare unto" them.[80] Children returned parental love as well, despite the great separation colonists often endured; this was true of Catholic Robert Lee, who sent his tobacco profits to England for his "dear Father Michall Lee and my dear Mother Christian."[81]

Mothers and fathers afforded their children love, but they also felt obligated to give their children an education, clothing, and food during their minority in addition to part of the family legacy when both parents died.[82] When Sarah Corkee, mother of nine, wrote her will, unlimited financial assistance was not part of the bargain. Her son Thomas had borrowed money from her and she had expected him to pay her back in full. Sarah felt no obligation to pay her son's way in life indefinitely.[83]

Occasionally, parents did not fulfill the responsibility implied by parenthood, and a grandparent stepped in. Arminian Anglican grandmother Eleanor Howard was distraught over the living conditions of her grandchildren after the death of their father. Her grown children probably expected to receive equal shares of both Eleanor's land and her personal effects after her death, but Eleanor had another plan in mind. She made up a will several years before her death, after taking into consideration "the frailty & uncertainty of Life, & desireous that the small worldly

substance wherenwith God has blest one beyond my Deserts may not after my decease be the Least occasion of Discord amongst my Children."[84] She tried to justify her desire to leave her entire estate to her grandchildren by reminding her grown children that she had already given them "such part of my worldly substance . . . as could in Reason be spared from my owne Support." She blamed her inept deceased son-in-law for the change in plan. As Orlando, Sophia, Charles, and William's grandmother, she felt that she had to step in after their father failed to provide for them, leaving them in a deplorable "Low Destitute condition." We might safely assume that Eleanor's disgust with her deceased son-in-law, preserved for all time in her will, was not a feeling that she kept to herself. This fact serves to underscore the cultural belief that parents had a moral responsibility to provide the children they brought into this world with basic necessities and the means to become independent when they were allowed to strike out on their own.

Much to the dismay of Eleanor and her grown children, Orlando, Sophia, Charles, and William became a financial burden to the extended family because of their father's inadequacies. But for most families children represented an important economic investment in this early modern world. Marriage was largely centered on the procreation of children because children secured the continuation of the family and provided essential labor in an agricultural economy. To ensure that they would profit from their investment in their children's welfare parents customarily tied their children to the family until boys reached twenty-one and girls sixteen. Parents expressed their children's familial responsibilities in terms of enslavement and ownership that may seem morally questionable to today's readers but that accurately described the realities of the seventeenth century. James Anderson of Dorchester County instructed "that my Children maybe Sett free at the age of Eighteen,"[85] but Catholic Sarah Syms O'Neal was not willing to wait until her son John turned eighteen. Sarah wanted him to "be from the very moment of my death free and at his own disposal to act in all things as [owner of] his Estate but with my obligations on him as he does me."[86] This "freeing" of children did, in fact, imply ownership by the parent, but the larger issue was control of the child's labor rather than his or her person.[87] The parent-child relationship revolved around a mutual and reciprocal set of obligations binding one individual to another unequivocally, particularly during a child's nonage.

Parents expected their children to provide a great deal of labor and to feel a considerable sense of obligation to the family until they left this world. In Maryland, widower Allexander Williams wished to preserve the family's legacy for future generations and his instructions to his son Charles reflected children's obligation to fulfill a parent's wishes. Williams stipulated in his will, "I give and bequeath unto my s[ai]d sonn [C]harles all wholly and singularly such debts as are now due or owe unto me from any p[er]son or p[er]sons willing and requiring him my said son as a dying father that dearly loves him to take and follow the advice of my

Executors at all times as occation shall require & nott prodigally or Extravagantly to make away the Estate left and bestowed upon him."[88] And John Porter's last wishes typify a pattern of allowing a wife to decide whether or not the children had fulfilled their family obligations. If Porter's children worked hard enough, his wife could reward them accordingly. He wrote, "I Do Give & bequeath all the remaining part of my Estate that it be Equally Devided between my af[oresai]d Loveing wife and my Children born of her body Each an Equall Proportion and it is my will & Desire that my Sons continue with their Mother while they attaine to the age of twenty one years & ye Girles untill they attaine unto the age of Sixteene." He further stipulated, "if my Said wife Shall think fitt to Sett Either of my Children at their Liberty as She Shall think Meet paying them their Proportion of my Estate at their Going off from her."[89]

Likewise, Roman Catholic John Parsons expressed similar sentiments when he gave his wife the "care and tuition and government of my said children till they attain the said age of one and twenty years and I doe hereby will and require my said Children to be dutifull and obedient to their said mother and to stay and live with her and assist her with their labour till they shall come to their said age of one and twenty years unless she my said wife shall otherwise for the good of any my said children shall permit them to leave her or consent to their departure leaveing them in that case to her discretion and prudence."[90] Many times, children continued to fulfill their mother's labor requirements until she died. This parental entitlement to offspring's labor often extended to all the dependents residing in the household, including nieces and nephews.[91]

Children's obligations to their families only ended when they died. Children, regardless of age, were a reflection of their family and therefore they were expected to behave accordingly. These colonists brought this notion with them from England.[92] When Englishman George Alsop left for Maryland he reminded his brother of his duty to their parents. He instructed him to always show "Respect and Reverence to your aged Parents, that while they live they may have comfort of you, and when that God shall sound a retreat to their lives, that there they may with their gray hairs in joy go down to their Graves."[93] This duty to one's family applied to the extended family as well. Governor Charles Calvert wrote to his father, Lord Baltimore, "I am heartily sorry to heare that my Cozen [Sir William] Talbot hath so behaved himself both towards yo[u]r Lo[rdshi]pp and his mother, and truly I must Confesse that in this he hath much Deceived me in my thoughts of him, for I alwayes supposed him to be a person of that honor and worth, that unkindnes to a mother, and ingratitude to a Relac[io]n that had so much oblidged him as yo[u]r Lo[rdshi]pp had beene much below the Generosity of his Temper."[94] As punishment for this bad behavior, Lord Baltimore revoked Talbot's commission and told him not to return to Maryland. Sir William Talbot's story reveals the close scrutiny family members fell under despite their age and status in the society.

When children failed to live up to their end of the reciprocal arrangement mandated by the customary parent/child relationship, parents might exclude them from inheriting. Thomas Pattison's son received a mere "Two Shillings and six pence Sterling" because "he hath suffred and upheld his wife [father, mother, and siblings] to abuse . . . at a most prodigious rate."[95] Only Thomas, Jr.—out of eight natural children and one adopted child—warranted such treatment. With her widow's share of the estate, including "houses and fences Gardens and Orchards Timber Woods and underwoods and my part of Cattle and Hogs there on runing," Ann Pattison continued to exert authority over her dependents, for she controlled the disposal of the family's property. Thomas stipulated that Ann continue to have "full power and Authority to dispose of all or any of my said Lands and personall Estate by her Deeds according to Law or by her will after my decease as she shall think fitt and convenient for the payment of my Just debts and her maintenance dureing her naturall life and to give what of the premisses she shall think fitt to all or any of my Children or Grand Children before or after her decease any law or Custome to the contrary notwithstanding."[96] With the force of two parental authorities to contend with and the hopes of inheriting a portion of the family legacy, few children moved outside the boundaries established by the parent/child relationship.

One of the most persuasive examples of joint parental authority used to extract the cooperation of children lies in the will of Quaker William Stockwell of Talbot County. The Stockwells' eldest son, Thomas, received a mere five shillings because of "his disobedience to God and to his parents." William's wife, Mary, held the estate during her life "and she [was] to dispose of it at her death to Our Children that best deserves it." The parental partnership in this family worked toward the common goal of securing the family's estate. The parents formed a practical strategy, realizing that over the course of time people and circumstances tended to change and that Mary had to have the liberty to manage the family's wealth as the needs of the family shifted. William warned his son John to "live a Godly life" and heed the advice of his mother and "the people of God called Quakers but if he should become a [lewd] man and not take his mothers advise and the afores[ai]d people of God called Quakers then I doe by these presents Impower my wife to dispose of it [their home plantation] as she shall See good and to disinherit him."[97] Offspring recognized this sense of family obligation in their wills as well. Thomas Bale wrote about his "duty" to his mother and sister after leaving his mother sixty pounds sterling and his "Great Silver tankard" as his "Last tender of my Duty."[98]

When four hundred pounds of tobacco was roughly equivalent to one pound sterling and with the cost of food, clothing, and education factored in over the course of their productive years at home, children probably cost a family half as much as day laborers, who might earn approximately twenty pounds of tobacco per day. Hence, children furnished parents with relatively cheap labor. Yet progeny served another fundamental purpose in this early modern province too. Chil-

dren provided their mothers and fathers with a sense of immortality at a time when death lurked in the dark corners of every household. Naming a child after a parent indicated that the child was not only a reflection but also an extension of the parent, almost as if the parent said, "you are I."[99] Repeatedly in the wills that Marylanders left behind one finds an unbroken chain of actions after individuals died, as if their lives continued through their progeny. Debts were to be settled, land transactions were to be completed, and large tracts of property—endowed with the family name—were to remain intact for generations to come. The unbroken chain of actions included everything from selling and buying land—as exhibited in Thomas Newbold's will—to the general maintenance of the family's plantation—as was true of Richard Kendall's. Newbold asked his "two Eldest Sons Thomas Newbold & William Newbold, by and with the help and assistance of my Loveing wife Jane Newbold to take care to pay for the aforesaid three hundred acres of Land also to assist in building a fiveteen foot Dwelling house on Each part of the Said Land for my two youngest Sons."[100] Other instructions indicated interest in the maintenance of the land for generations to come, as when Richard Kendall requested that his grandson, Daniel Foxwell, "plant an Orchard of one hundred apple Trees" upon the land he bequeathed him and "secure it with a good ffence."[101] Accordingly, fathers entailed the property to ensure that it would remain in the family for generations.[102] Daughters as well as sons were enjoined to preserve the family estate. Humphrey Tilton divided three hundred acres amongst his daughters, "freely to them & their heires of their body forever but if any of my three Daughters should sell, morgage, or Lease for any Longer Term or Space then seven yeares then such Lands to fall to the other Sister yt shall not so morgage, Sell, or Lease."[103]

Certainly not every child was named after a mother or father. Naming additional children after other relatives often implied some kind of financial agreement—explicitly stated in some wills, such as those of James Collier and John Willoughby. James Collier left his daughter four hundred acres of land: "my father Robt colliers Dwelling Planta[ti]on Provided yt of my father in Law *George Betts* Doth Give & Confirm unto my Son *George Betts* Collier this Plantation I now Live one upon [emphasis added]."[104] Collier assumed that his son, named for his father-in-law, would become his father-in-law's primary heir. John Willoughby could not have been clearer when he gave his wife Sarah full power to sell or mortgage his estate and stated that it was to pass to her grown son Robert Franklin, Jr., when she died, as long as he "shall hereafter att any time or times happen to have one or more son or sons Lawfully begotten or to be begotten *shall name one of them Willoughby and use utmost Endeavour allways to continue one of that name soe long as he and his heirs Shall Enjoy any part of my Estate* [emphasis added]."[105]

Children's hopes of inheriting family land carried with them the burden of providing labor for the family's welfare, but in this era of high mortality rates children often avoided the added responsibility of caring for elderly parents who

were no longer able to care for themselves. When aging parents realized that they might outlive their ability to provide for themselves they negotiated their maintenance with their children and used their will as a contract to confirm the agreement they reached. Aging Catholic John Fossee, in an effort to secure care for himself when he was no longer self-sufficient, wrote his will while still in "good health of body & of sound p[er]fect mind & memory," giving his daughters their expected shares of land and stipulating the particulars of the agreement reached between himself and his son. Fossee stated, "I do make my son Harbart Thomas my Ex[e]c[utor] in full after my deceas[e] . . . [and] unto my Son Herbart do give all my Rents [and] Creditts to him for my life time for to maintaine me w[i]th: good sufficient meate drink & cloathing during my life."[106] The child that bore the burden of caring for an elderly parent often was substantially compensated for doing so. Certainly, this unequal distribution of property between brothers and sisters could have caused a great deal of unrest in any family. Laying out the details of such an arrangement in a will, in a way that pointed out the reasons for the unequal disbursal of wealth, allowed testators an opportunity to mitigate (as much as was humanly possible) sibling discord after their deaths.

We have looked at marriage and at children, the natural product of such unions, in order to understand the personal lives of early Marylanders and the significance of familial relationships. Still, not everyone married in Maryland. The early years found many bachelors in the province—roughly one-third of the male population—because of the large numbers of young male indentured servants that ended up there. Many men simply could not find women to marry in the colony. Yet as extraordinary as it may seem—considering that women made up only about a third of the population—some young women chose not to marry for some of the same reasons that their counterparts did in England. In England during the seventeenth century women who never married made up between 10 and 20 percent of the female population.[107]

Of course, females in Maryland could choose not to marry because their fathers had bequeathed them a tract of land. Quaker William Chapline provides a glimpse into the partial autonomy he was willing to grant his daughter Elizabeth along with her share of the family's land and personal estate: "my will and pleasure is that my Daughter Elizabeth Chpline have her [seat] and her cloathing every way Convenient with washing & lodging here att my now Dwelling house at Patuxent in ffishing Creekes from the time above Said, untill the time of her Marriage or her going away of her own accord."[108] Catholic Joshua Doyne shared Chapline's sentiments, leaving his daughter, Jane, Jr., more than three hundred acres in addition to "one Mallattoe boy called Lewis and a Negroe called Mary Provided she Marieth a Roman Catholick *if* she betake her selfe to ye Seate of Mattrimoney [emphasis added]."[109]

Although we have no definitive means for ascertaining whether or not women

remained single throughout their lives, the names of women who presumably never married show up in the wills, such as the "spinsters" Urath Bale, Elizabeth Baker, Elizabeth Berry, Anne Chapman, Elizabeth Darby, Jane Halfhead, and Hannah Prosser. Not all of these women had the option of marriage, as did Elizabeth Chapline, Jane Doyne, and Sarah Goddard. Some spinsters were indentured servants who signed a contract limiting their ability to marry while in the service of their masters. Surely, some indentured females experienced virtual enslavement if they became pregnant too often while under contract with a master who added years to their servitude for the inconvenience. Still others had grown too old to seek partners when their contracts expired. Yet it seems highly likely that a few landed spinsters, such as Patience Burkett as well as Mary and Margaret Brent of St. Mary's County, had quite consciously decided that the risk of childbirth and the possible loss of autonomy were not attractive options.[110] When landed families had more than one heir, they could afford to offer the option of spinsterhood to daughters. This strategy helped to alleviate the inevitable shortage of land that resulted from generations' repeatedly parceling out tracts to their progeny. Widower Richard Marston of Charles County hoped his daughter would choose this option in order to preserve the meager fifty-acre estate for his eldest son. Richard wrote, "if my Eldest Daughter Mary Marston whilest she keepes herselfe Single and is Willing to live With her Said brother and to keep his house then it is my Will and desire that my Sonn Robt. Shall Allow her Maintenance as long as She shall remaine With him."[111]

This customary family strategy did not preclude spinsters from exerting authority in the family. Sisters demanded their fair share of the partnerships they entered, as is revealed in the testimony regarding the nuncupative (verbal) will of Benjamin Brasseur. The court clerk recorded the testimony of Anthony Kingsland, a fifty-four-year-old laborer, in which he related how he had heard Martha, Benjamin's sister and housekeeper, "tell the Said Benja. that now her time was out . . . and demanded what he would give her for the time that she had been with him." Benjamin agreed to give her his entire estate (and name her his executrix) if he died a bachelor. Another witness related a somewhat different scenario. A thirty-six-year-old laborer, William Howard, stated that he heard "Martha Brasseur demand of her brother Benja. Brasseur what he would give her for the time that she had been with him where upon the said Benja. told her that if he dyed a batchellor he would leave all to her the said Martha Brasseur. Where upon the said Martha told him that he would not." To put to rest his sister's serious doubts about his sincerity, Benjamin felt compelled to call Anthony Kingsland and William Howard into the house to bear witness to their contract.[112]

Martha and Benjamin Brasseur must have gotten along fairly well, since they lived and worked together for some time before this showdown occurred. Most siblings shared at least this measure of intimacy with each other, and quite often there proved to be a deep and lasting affection between brothers and sisters. Seaborn

Battie laid bare his strong attachment to his sister on his deathbed when he wrote, "I give and bequeath unto my loveing sister Dinah the wife of Mr. Thomas Knighton Eight pounds Sterling to be layed out in a peice of plate and markt S.B. in remembrance of my true love & affection I bear to her."[113] And as an expression of his love, Anglican gentleman John Contee, after taking care of his wife and three stepchildren, gave "unto my Dear and Loving mother Mrs. Grace Contee and to my Loving Sister Agness Berry . . . all my two parceles of Land in Charles County."[114]

English Roman Catholic siblings on the other side of the Atlantic also expressed strong bonds of love and affection in their writing. In a letter to his father, Lord Baltimore, Governor Charles Calvert expressed his sincere love for his sister when he received "the sad news of my Sister Blackstones death which has been a great Affliction to mee ever since, I hope shee is happy our prayers shall not bee wantinge, It is a great Comfort to mee that shee was soe well prepared and Resigned as I understand shee was, I Caused all the Good Men [priests] here to say Masses for her soule."[115] Dame Barbara Constable (a Benedictine nun) wrote with great affection to her brother on June 16, 1663: "To my most deare brother Sir Marmaduke Constable, I wish all health and happiness. My dearest brother since my affection and good will for you is not lesse then for the rest of my friends to whom according to my poor capacity I have indeavoured to contribute a little of the expence of the idle time my condition affords towards the good and sancifying of their soules according to the varietie of their conditions and necessities." In this letter Barbara strongly urged her brother, for the good of his soul, to be a better Christian and live a godly life. Barbara worried that her brother was too interested in giving himself "to an idle & vain life, taking pleasure and seeking after the riches and honours of the world."[116] Both Charles Calvert and Barbara Constable deeply loved their sister and brother and continued to show a keen interest in the salvation of their eternal souls.

Anthropologists Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, in *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality,* shed some light on the significance of these strong sibling associations. Given a culture that values loving, respectful relationships between brothers and sisters, the society, in turn, predicates its definition of "womanhood" on these same relationships. People in such a culture tend to characterize women as friends, companions, confidantes, and partners, not evil, wanton, lustful creatures bent on seducing men into committing sins. This understanding of womanhood based on loving sibling relationships, they claim, produces a society that is "more sex-egalitarian and less sex-antagonistic."[117] Ortner and Whitehead's observation may speak directly to the situation in seventeenth-century Maryland (and England), where strong female-male sibling relationships abound and we also find a distinctive female authority present in most personal relationships. Therefore, we might assume Marylanders—especially Arminian Anglicans, Quakers, and Roman Catholics—tended to be more egali-

tarian in gendered intercourse and that gender roles were predicated on sibling associations of parity.

These brother-sister relationships that fostered a "more sex-egalitarian" society also extended beyond the immediate family to the spiritual family of friendship. Fitz William Lawrence, for example, bequeathed his "Deare and Loveing friend," the widow Judith Stanley, his entire estate.[118] Spinster Phoebe Loftus benefited when her loving friend Timothy Goodridge left his estate to her, his "trusty and well beloved friend for the love and affection which I beare."[119] Men and women such as Nathaniel Smith and his "Loveing friend Margaret Holland" shared a special relationship of sincere, mutual affection for each other. These friendships were sometimes part of an expansive network of spiritual family members, such as that of Philip Cary, William and Susanna Thomas, Samuel Barrot, Susanna Dunn, and Thomas Polton. This closely knit group of married, single, and widowed adults was a network of intimate friends dependent upon each other for day-to-day support. When faced with death, they bequeathed property to each other and witnessed the signing of each other's wills.[120]

Contemporary English advice literature praised the sanctity of true friendship between men and women. Anglican minister Jeremy Taylor, for instance, found scriptural evidence to support his notion that the "greatest love, and greatest usefulness, and the most open communication, and the noblest sufferings, and the most exemplar faithfulness, and severest truth, and the heartiest counsel and the greatest union of minds" existed between male and female friends. The Bible endorsed these intense friendships, Taylor assured his readers, saying that "the more we love, the better we are, and the greater our friendships are, the dearer we are to God." These relationships were often closer than the intimate friendships between brothers and sisters. Taylor explained that "A Brother does not always make a friend, but a friend ever makes a Brother and more."[121]

These spiritual families made up of close friends provided more than just emotional support; they also served a very practical need as well—as guardians for children. English men and women had long considered spiritual kinship to exist between themselves and the close friends they named as godparents to their children at their baptism. Such friends were called "gossips" (god-sibs), a word that indicated spiritual affinity and kinship.[122] As spiritual siblings, gossips were expected to treat each other's children as if they were their natural nieces or nephews. This extended family of gossips acted as surrogate parents when circumstances mandated. Many youngsters were orphaned during these years of high mortality rates—in both England and Maryland—and gossips could step in to care for children when their natural kinfolk could not. For William Anderas, a gossip could act in his stead after his death to rectify any injustice done to his child, even if his wife was still alive. William optimistically bequeathed his entire estate to his wife, Ann, during her life, after which it was to pass to his daughter Elizabeth. However,

William stipulated that "the tuition of my Said Daughter Elizabeth anderas unto the tenderness of my said wife to be provided for during her minority Provided that she the said Ann Anderas do not suffer the said Child to be any ways abused by a father in Law [stepfather] if she the Said Ann Anderas should Chance to be [re]married." If a stepfather treated his daughter badly, then William's spiritual sibling, "Elizabeth Parsons wife of Thomas Parsons," was to "have the Tuition of my Said Daughter during her Said minority."[123]

Marylanders valued their spiritual families so highly that we are not at all surprised to find men like Nathaniel Smith with several male "Loving friend[s]."[124] John Bayne said it best when he wrote of "the Especiall Trust true Love and pure affection I have and bear to my before [mentioned] Trustees Coll. John Courts Major James Smallwood coll. John Addison Major William Dent and Mr. Benjamine Hall." To show these loving friends just how much he cared for them, he gave "Each and every one of them ten pounds Sterl[ing] to buy each a mourning Ring Suit and Gold Rings," even if the cloth for the suits had to be sent from England at an additional cost to his estate.[125] Men tended to use the same affectionate terms for their male friends as they did for natural family members or female friends. These spiritual kinships, which often crossed gender lines, frequently traversed religious barriers as well, for we see that Catholic Thomas Diniard found solace with male Catholics, Quakers, and Protestants.[126]

Occasionally, a same-sex friendship became a partnership more closely resembling a marriage. For example, Roman Catholic Edward Cotton used his last will and testament to reiterate the oral commitments he had made to his "Mate," Barnaby Jackson. Wanting to ensure that justice was served after his death, Cotton confirmed his agreement with Jackson about the disbursement of his personal estate although "there was never anything concluded on nor the hands of neither party over Sett to any absolute bargain or agreem[en]t." Cotton added that he had "often Desired" to formally ratify their informal contract, noting that "Once for Instance I desired him to goe with me to the Secretarys to Conclude our agreem[en]t which he put off." Jackson apparently wanted to avoid this formal confirmation of their agreement by giving Cotton a flimsy excuse that Cotton refuted in his will. According to Cotton, Jackson had promised to come for him when he was at "Richd Williams Work" so that they could "goe [together] to Mr. Hattons" to put down on paper their economic commitments to one another. But Cotton lamented that "he never did." Perhaps this same-sex partnership (and others like it), with both its implicit and explicit responsibilities, developed out of necessity in a society with so many surplus males.[127]

Women also shared intimate same-sex relationships. Women who had the luxury of having natural kin in Maryland tended to form female networks within their families, as did Elizabeth Gouldesborough of Talbot County. Elizabeth left her two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, her entire estate and named her sister,

Priscilla Bruen, executrix.[128] Elizabeth's mother, Mary Sargeant of Queen Anne's County, also left a will that further illustrates this female network.[129] As a remembrance of her love for her granddaughters, Mary and Elizabeth, Mary left them each a gold ring. She named her daughter Priscilla and another daughter, Katharine Bowdell, administrators and residuary legatees. These females constructed a support network of other female family members whom they could depend upon when tragic events—such as death and illness—visited the family. Thus, women tended to gain emotional support from female relatives and extended this network to include many male friends.

As we have seen, intimate familial relationships extended far beyond the nuclear family in seventeenth-century Maryland. Mirroring family structures in England, families often spilled over the boundaries of the nuclear family, consisting of a father, a mother, and their natural offspring. Pragmatic constructions may have included a single parent raising a deceased spouse's children, godchildren, or cousins, since this was a time when men and women rarely lived to see their grandchildren come of age.[130] These families tended to scatter across the province as adult children sought their fortunes on land that parents increasingly purchased outside their immediate communities.[131] Grown children took their seats in other counties or moved to Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, or as far away as Barbados and England, as did the family of Arminian Anglican Henry Jowles. Henry had one son living in England, a daughter in Prince George's County, and a son in Calvert County, where he himself lived.[132] It is unclear how often family members (both natural and spiritual) saw one another once they had moved away, but we can be sure that most continued to serve their families in any way that they could despite the great distances.

With the magnitude of overseas trade undertaken by Marylanders, it would be safe to assume these literate colonists exchanged letters with great frequency, although only a few have survived. We know also that Marylanders had a regular intra- and intercolony postal service by 1695. The few letters that have managed to survive emphasize Marylanders' strong desire to maintain communications with kin. For example, Abraham Tilghman apologized profusely for not having written before his 1697 letter to his cousin Richard in England. Having received three letters from his cousin, Abraham explained that the war "hindered Relations and ffriends thus distant from conversing & exchanging affections in a desirable way."[133] Whether natural or spiritual family members were separated because of marriage or business, female and male colonists continued to cultivate and nurture family relationships both for the sake of emotional support and for the economic benefits kinship networks provided in their burgeoning staple economy.

Seventeenth-century Marylanders predicated their intimate relationships on a set of complex mutual responsibilities that continued to bind individuals to their extended families—both natural and spiritual—for the duration of their lives.

While love and emotional support certainly formed the foundation for these relationships, economic concerns also had an important role to play. Property concerns sometimes shaped solutions to interpersonal problems and passions in a society in which the household was the basis of the family's economy. The variety of solutions speaks to both religious differences—in the definition of marriage and the religious group's role in it—and the frontier conditions of early modern Maryland. Because of the colonists' cultural and religious traditions, which they brought with them to the Catholic province, the patterns of partner selection, child/parent relations, marriage, and separation found here in Maryland closely resembled those of England.

This chapter also exposes a persistent and pervasive adherence to canon law in Maryland with regard to partner selection, marriage, and separation. Canon law's strongest adherents were the three largest English religious groups present in the province—Arminian Anglicans, Quakers, and Roman Catholics. Conversely, Puritanism—in Maryland and England—literally defined itself as the antithesis of all things Catholic. Thus the Puritans (and other Calvinists) summarily rejected the conception of marriage as a holy sacrament, and in so doing they stripped it of its religious significance. Additionally, females and males shared commitments—implying a sense of mutuality—within the society, as expressed in joint parental authority and patterns of child-naming. If we accept the argument put forth by anthropologists Ortner and Whitehead—namely, that societal understandings of gender based on sibling relationships lead to a "more sex-egalitarian" society—then we must delve deeper into the lives of these early modern people to find out just how "egalitarian" their society was while simultaneously examining the degree to which religion affected this society.

NOTES

1. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland,* 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 53:628.
2. Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 10:464.
3. Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 10:503.
4. Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 10:501–4, 555; 41:20, 50–51, 85; 53:4, 33–34.
5. In England and, I would argue, in Maryland as well, estranged wives were legally entitled to one-third of the estate (Colin Chapman, *Marriage Laws, Rites, Records, and Customs* [Dursley, England: Lochin, 1996], 89).
6. Robert Robins appeared in court with Elizabeth Weekes for producing an illegitimate child after the Robinses' separation (Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 53:250–51). In England cases concerning marriage were heard in ecclesiastical courts while Maryland dealt with these in the regular court system.
7. Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 10:280–82.
8. John Taylor's legal formulary is housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. (Taylor, "Presidents of Assignment, Bonds, Covenants, Letters of Attorney, Releases,

Affidavits, Charterpartys, Indentures of Apprenticeship," MSS [c. 1730]).

9. Wills, 6:201 (1699).

10. Mary Keysor Meyer suggests early Marylanders recognized English law in regard to divorce. Thus, men and women could obtain a "divorce from bed and board" (*a mensa et thoro*)—in other words, a legal separation. She cites as evidence Rev. William Wilkinson's 1658 marriage of Robert Holt to Christian Bonnefield while Holt's first wife, Dorothy, was still living. Although Holt was later charged with bigamy, Meyer insists that a document signed by Dorothy confessing her adulterous activities amounted to a legal divorce from Robert (Mary Keysor Meyer, *Divorces and Names Changed in Maryland by Act of the Legislature, 1634–1854* [privately printed, 1970], iii–iv). In Calvinist New England a deserted wife could file for divorce because an unsupervised woman posed a threat to the social order. Divorce in Maryland, on the other hand, did not occur until the 1790s.

11. Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 90.

12. Wills, 4:152 (1684).

13. I suspect that these types of living arrangements were fairly rare. Mary Beth Norton found a clear case of a woman living with her husband and her lover in the same house (Norton, "Gender, Crime, and Community in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in *The Transformation of Early American History: Society, Authority, and Ideology,* ed. James A. Henretta, Michael Kammen, and Stanley N. Katz [New York: A. A. Knopf, 1991], 130–31).

14. Wills, 4:159 (1685).

15. Wills, 1:101 (1658).

16. Wills, 2:372 (1675).

17. Rose Pinner's husband, William, died between November 10, 1684, when he wrote his will, and June 17, 1685, when the will was proved in court (Wills, 4:146 [1684]). Traditionally in England, men were required to wait a month after a wife's death to remarry and women were supposed to wait one year. The longer waiting period for a widow was intended to ensure that she was not carrying her deceased husband's child. Generally speaking, however, women were not encouraged to remarry at all. In Maryland both these prohibitions were largely ignored.

18. Wills, 4:153 (1684).

19. Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 54:127, 186, 205, 206, 211, 212.

20. Chapman, *Marriage Laws, Rites, Records, and Customs,* 79; and David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 241.

21. In another example maidservant Bridgett Nelson claimed that she was married to her master Quintin Counyer (Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 41:456–57).

22. Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 10:549–51.

23. Quoted in James Walter Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (1900; reprint, Baltimore: Clearfield, 1999), 169.

24. *The Calvert Papers,* 3 vols., Maryland Historical Society Fund Publications 28, 34–35 (Baltimore: J. Murphy, 1889–99), 1:263.

25. In early modern England approximately half of all young men and women had lost their fathers by the time they contemplated marriage (James Smith and Jim Oippen, "Estimating Numbers of Kin in Historical England Using Microsimulation," in *Old and New Methods in Historical Demography,* ed. David Rehere and Roger Scholfield [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 306–8).

26. Wills, 7:141 (1696, Jane Long), 12.1:212 (1707/8, John Phillips).

27. Wills, 2:332 (1693).

28. Wills, 4:103 (1684). Occasionally, a grandparent entered into the decision-making process, as did Widow Johanna Spry, who bequeathed "milch-Cattell" and featherbeds to her three granddaughters, stipulating that "if either of them prove disobedient and Marry contrary unto their Mothers consent then my will is that She so offending shall have nor share nor parts of any Legacy given her in this my will" (Wills, 2:349 [1674]).
29. Joan Scott and Louise Tilly, *Women, Work, and the Family* (New York: Methuen, 1978), 41; and Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988), 34–35.
30. George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Maryland* (1666; reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1972), 50–51.
31. Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing, eds., *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2000), 139.
32. Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 10:499, 500, 531–33.
33. Wills, 7:132 (c. 1691).
34. Edward D. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland as Portrayed in Manuscripts, Provincial Records, and Early Documents* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1876), 152–53.
35. Wills, 4:272 (1686/7).
36. Luis de Granada, *A Memorial of a Christian Life: Compendiously containing all, that a Soul, Newly Converted to GOD, Ought to do, That it may Attain to the Perfection, After which it ought to aspire,* translated from Spanish (London, 1688), 213–14. Father de Granada was a Provincial in the Dominican order.
37. Katherine Digby's manuscript "Spiritual Exercises" (c. 1650) is housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library, call number V.a.473.
38. "American Catholic Sermons Collection," Special Collections, Georgetown University Library.
39. Chapman, *Marriage Laws, Rites, Records, and Customs,* 43, quoting the Beverley, Yorkshire, parish register of November 1641.
40. Catholics did not hold weddings on December 28, Childermas or Holy Innocents Day, since the day commemorated Herod's massacre of children.
41. Wills, 13:224 (1711).
42. Chapman, *Marriage Laws, Rites, Records, and Customs,* 53, 84.
43. Wills, 2:163 (1681). Lorena Walsh has argued that "Before justices of the peace were authorized to perform marriages, many couples simply married themselves, signifying their union by some customary ceremony such as breaking a piece of silver between them" (Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society,* ed. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman [New York: W. W. Norton, 1979], 130). I would argue that Arminian Anglicans, Quakers, and Roman Catholics devised religious ceremonies based on devotional literature.
44. Chapman, *Marriage Laws, Rites, Records, and Customs,* 83.
45. Quoted from the county court records in Harry Wright Newman, *The Maryland Dents: A Genealogical History of the Descendants of Judge Thomas Dent and Captain John Dent, Who Settled Early in the Province of Maryland* (Richmond, Va.: Dietz, 1963), 17.
46. Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 1:97.
47. "Puretanes" in England expressed their hatred of the "fylthe Canon lawe" as early as 1568 (Richard Fytz, *The Trewe Marks of Christes Churche* [London, 1568]. See also SP 15/20 no. 107, ff 254 Av-257r in the Public Record Office).
48. See Henry Scobell, *An Act Touching Marriages and the Registring thereof; And also touching Births and Burials* (London, 1653).

49. Since marriage was not a sacrament for Calvinists, New Englanders accepted petitions for divorce when a spouse was abandoned.
50. Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, 2:523.
51. William Smith, *Joyfull tidings to the begotten of God . . . with a few words of counsel unto Friends concerning marriage* (London, 1664), 6.
52. Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661–1861*, vol. 2 (1915; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing, 1967), 527. George Fox ordered in 1662 that "not less than a dozen Friends and Relations be present" when two Friends united in marriage. And later, "At a Quarterly Meeting in Hadenham in the Isle of Ely, 1st of the 10th. Month 1675. viz. It is ordered and agreed upon at this Quarterly Meeting, that no Friends for time to come, may permit or suffer marriages without the consent of Friends at two Mens and Womens Meetings, and the Man and Woman to come both to the said Meetings to receive the answer of Friends" (Gerard Croese, *A Brief History of the Rise, Growth, and Progress of Quakerism; Setting Forth, That the Principles and Practices of the Quakers are Antichristian, Antiscriptural, Antimagistratical, Blasphemous, and Idolatrous from plain matter of Fact, out of their most approved Authors, &c. Containing Also, A modest Correction of the General History of the Quakers* [London: Francis Bugg, Senior, 1697], 154–55).
53. Smith, *Joyfull tidings to the begotten of God*, 5–6.
54. Kenneth Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970), 145.
55. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, 145.
56. Smith, *Joyfull tidings to the begotten of God*, 6.
57. Francis Shannon, *Several Discourses & Characters address'd to the Ladies of the Age. Wherein the Vanities of the Modish Women are Discovered* (London: Robert Midgley, 1689), 93–94.
58. William Whateley, *A Bride Bush: or, A Direction for Married Persons* (London, 1623), 83–84, 86.
59. Shannon, *Several Discourses & Characters address'd to the Ladies of the Age*, 73–75.
60. E. A. Wrigley et al., *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580–1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 438–39.
61. Peter Coldham, "Index of Tracts," in *Settlers of Maryland, 1679–1700* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1995), 203.
62. Wills, 7:94 (1695).
63. Wills, 2:362 (1675).
64. Wills, 11:210 (1702).
65. Clearly, not all marriages fit into this pattern. William Welch, for instance, left his wife Charity "one shill[ing] Sterll[ing]"—an amount typically used to exclude disobedient children from sharing in the family wealth—presumably for her infidelity (Wills 4:197 [1685]). In seventeenth-century Virginia, Edmund Morgan suggests, "the fortunes gathered by those early immigrants during the deadly first half century were not necessarily lost or dispersed. Capital still accumulated in the hands of widows and joined in profitable wedlock the sums that well-heeled immigrants brought with them" (Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1975], 304).
66. Wills, 5:180 (1677).
67. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top Oxon c. 124, ff. 14–15.
68. The conscious desire to build or continue a family line is clearly illustrated by the fine example of Isreal Skelton. His will specified that after his wife died, his daughter (if his son died first) was to inherit his wife's share of his estate and pass it on to her heirs, "whether they be Lineally or Colatterally Desended from her," not just the heirs of her body (Wills, 12.1:37 [1706]).

69. Not every woman wanted a child, as evidenced by several cases of infanticide and abortion in Maryland. Women used opium, savin (from *Juniper sabina*), and other "purges" to rid themselves of both worms and unwanted pregnancies. (See, for instance, Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 53:387–91 and 41:20.)
70. Robert Schnucher, "Elizabethan Birth Control," in *Marriage and Fertility: Studies in Interdisciplinary History,* ed. Robert Rotberg and Theodore Rabb (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), 76.
71. For instance, "with child" appears in Matthew 1:18 and "the child in my womb" in Luke 1:44.
72. Wills, 7:168 (1696).
73. Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1997), 49.
74. Less than 16 percent of the colonists who referred to pregnancy used terms like "babe" or "infant." In legal usage, the word "infant" referred to males or females under the age of seventeen (Browne, *Archives of Maryland,* 7:198).
75. Wills, 13:567 (1710).
76. Wills, 12.2:49–51 (page 50 is mislabeled 51) (1709).
77. In the seventeenth century a quarter of the children born in England died before they reached their tenth birthday. English women could expect to give birth to approximately seven children, of whom only about three would reach adulthood (E. A. Wrigley and Roger Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 249; and Wrigley et al., *English Population History from Family Reconstitution,* 438–39. Traditionally in England, women were "churched" after childbirth. This rite, outlined in the Book of Common Prayer, provided women an opportunity to publicly express thanks to God for delivering them safely through childbirth. It also served to symbolically cleanse a woman and signal her reentry into the community after her lying-in period. Puritans shunned this practice as "popish."
78. Crawford and Gowing, *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England,* 231.
79. Wills, 12.2:207 (1709).
80. Wills, 12.2:97 (1709).
81. Wills, 4:280 (1687).
82. Sir William Blackstone argued in 1770 that "the duties of parents to legitimate children" included "their maintenance, their protection, and their education . . . suitable to their station in life." He stressed the fact that "No person is bound to provide a maintenance for his issue, unless where the children are impotent and unable to work, either through infancy, disease, or accident, and then is only obliged to find them with necessaries" (Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* book 1 [1770; reprint, Philadelphia: G. W. Childs, 1862], 446, 450, 449).
83. Wills, 6:79 (1698).
84. Wills, 13:235 (1705).
85. Wills, 12.2:37 (1708).
86. Wills, 13:75–76 (1710).
87. In 1770, Blackstone claimed that a father "may indeed have the benefit of his children's labour while they live with him, and are maintained by him; but this is no more than he is entitled to from his apprentices or servants. The legal power of a father . . . over the persons of his children ceases at the age of twenty-one: for they are then enfranchised by arriving at years of discretion." In this commentary, Blackstone also suggested a wife held no such power in England, "for a mother, as such, is entitled to no power, but only to reverence and respect" (Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* book 1, 452).
88. Wills, 4:269 (1687).

89. Wills, 12.2:174 (1701).
90. Wills, 4:318 (1688).
91. Wills, 7:304 (1696). Some grandparents who needed additional labor on their own plantations offered legacies to grandchildren in exchange for labor (Wills, 13:9 [1709]).
92. Mary Swain, a widow from Somerset County, asked her son "to bury me according as a son should his mother" (Wills, 13:258 [1710]).
93. Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Maryland,* 93.
94. *Calvert Papers,* 1:277–78 and 283.
95. Wills, 11:130 (1699).
96. Wills, 11:131 (1699).
97. Wills, 11:223 (1701).
98. Wills, 12.1:221 (1707). Sir William Blackstone wrote, "The *duties* of children to their parents arise from a principle of natural justice and retribution. For to those who gave us existence we naturally owe subjection and obedience during our minority, and honour and reverence ever after: they who protected the weakness of our infancy are entitled to our protection in the infirmity of their age; they who by sustenance and education have enabled their offspring to prosper, ought in return to be supported by that offspring, in case they stand in need of assistance" (Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* Book 1, 453).
99. In the early years of the province, when mortality rates were particularly high, colonists would often name several sons after their father, in an effort to ensure the continuation of not just the family name but also the essence of that individual. Seventeenth-century governor Francis Howard of Virginia and his wife, Philadelphia, named all three of their children after Francis—the first was a daughter. (See Debra Meyers, "Francis Howard," in *American National Biography* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1997], 301–2.) For a compelling essay on the significance of naming patterns see John J. Waters, "Naming and Kinship in New England: Guilford Patterns and Usage, 1693–1759," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 138 (July 1984): 161–81. See also Jacques Dupaquier, "Naming Practices, Godparenthood, and Kinship in the Vexin, 1540–1900," *Journal of Family History* 6 (1981): 135–55; Gloria Main, "Naming Children in Early New England," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27 (summer 1996): 1–27; Daniel S. Smith, "Child-Naming Practices, Kinship Ties, and Change in Family Attitudes in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1641 to 1800," *Journal of Social History* 18 (1985): 541–66; and Edward Tebbenhoff, "Tacit Rules and Hidden Structures: Naming Practices and Godparentage in Schenectady, New York, 1680–1800," *Journal of Social History* 18 (1985): 567–85.
100. Wills, 13:534 (1713).
101. Wills, 2:343 (1704).
102. Wills, 12.1:142 (1706).
103. Wills, 12.1:240 (1708).
104. Wills, 12.2:90 (1709).
105. Wills, 11:225 (1702).
106. Wills, 13:617 (1713).
107. Erickson, *Women and Property,* 48.
108. Wills, 1:364 (1669).
109. Wills, 6:170–71 (1698).
110. Wills, 6:225 (1698).
111. Wills, 6:272 (1698).
112. Wills, 2:402 (1675/6).
113. Wills, 4:287 (1687/8).
114. Wills, 12.1:276 (1708).

115. *Calvert Papers*, 1:269.
116. Cecilia Haywood, *Records of the Abbey of our Lady of Consolation at Cambrai, 1620–1793*, ed. Joseph Gillow, Publications of the Catholic Record Society 13 (London: Ballantyne, Hanson, 1913), 10–12.
117. Ortner and Whitehead also suggest that "Catholic cultures . . . emphasize mother's nurturance and merciful protection, whereas Protestant-dominated American culture tends to emphasize mother's controlling and manipulative nature" (Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, "Introduction: Accounting for Sexual Meanings," in *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981], 23).
118. Wills, 7:89 (1694).
119. Wills, 4:133 (1685).
120. Wills, 5:185 (1676, Barrot), 5:181 (1676, Cary), 5:184 (1676, Dunn).
121. Jer[emy] Taylor, *A Discourse of the Nature, Offices and Measures of Friendship. With Rules of conducting it* (London, 1671), 5, 62–63, and 69.
122. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland*, 139.
123. Wills, 2:71 (1674).
124. Wills, 1:488 (1672).
125. Wills, 11:219 (1701).
126. Wills, 1:82 (1659).
127. Wills, 1:46 (1653). Edward Cotton was bound to Walter Beane, though he himself owned a servant named David Thomas.
128. Wills, 12.1:350–52 (1708). In a letter to her brother, Constance Fowler described her feelings for her sister-in-law: "there was never any more passionate affectionate lovers than she and I, and that you never knew two creatures more truly and deadly in love with one another than we are." For a few examples of intense love and friendship between two sisters in England, see Crawford and Gowing, *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England*, 229–32, 237.
129. Wills, 13:315 (1711).
130. For a thorough study of this phenomenon, see Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (1974): 211–27. For English patterns see Miranda Chaytor, "Household and Kinship: Ryton in the Late 16th and Early 17th centuries," *History Workshop Journal* 10 (1980): 25–60.
131. By 1700 nearly half of the landowners on the Eastern Shore were related to one another (Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988], 60).
132. Wills, 6:399 (1693). Edmond Gibbon owned land in Carolina, Barbados, Kent County in Maryland, New Jersey on the Rariton River, Smith Valley in New York, Pennsylvania, and other areas as well (Wills, 4:214 [1685]).
133. Never having met his cousin, Richard had inquired about Abraham's family. Abraham's mention of war referred to France's attempt to restore James II to his throne in England (Harrison Tilghman, ed., "Letters between the English and American Branches of the Tilghman Family, 1697–1764," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 33 [1938]: 152).

Maryland Free Soilers and the Presidential Election of 1848

ELWOOD L. BRIDNER JR.

In viewing the political history of the United States, scholars have often identified a few elections as crucial in shaping the nation's destiny and have offered various explanations of why these pivotal contests are important. Some elections allegedly represented the electorate's response to a national crisis either real or perceived, and others served as an opportunity to measure voter support for an evolving philosophy or a specific political personality. In some of these hallmark campaigns the appearance of a new or third political party representing a position that neither of the established groups would champion disrupted the customary two-party system. The 1848 presidential campaign, which included the appearance of the Free Soil Party, has often been considered to be one such special election.

Until the mid-twentieth century, most researchers looked upon the Free Soil Party as an antebellum snippet in the political progression of the antislavery movement. In this view the Free Soil Party followed the Liberty Party of 1844 and preceded the birth of the Republican Party in the 1850s.[1] Recent scholarship suggests, however, that the free soil movement represented a significant change in the evolution of the antislavery crusade.[2] Stanley Harrold thought the Free Soil Party represented an effort by the moderate antislavery advocates to broaden their voter appeal in the 1840s by separating themselves from the antebellum perception that equated "abolitionism" with radicalism. Larry Gara reinforced this idea, suggesting that the Free Soil Party accommodated a variety of antislavery positions within its ranks and concluding that it was actually more liberal on this issue than the Liberty Party.[3]

Contemporary historians have challenged and expanded these explanations in their continued search for understanding the impact of the free soil movement on the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Some have investigated the racial attitudes of the Free Soil leadership, concluding that, when judged by the standards of the late twentieth century, the Free Soil campaign of 1848 was strangely silent on the issue of racial equality. Frederick Blue hypothesized that the Free Soilers sought to avoid controversy by simply omitting a "plank" on the topic from their election platform.[4]

Other recent researchers have completely ignored the antislavery and race issue in explaining the appearance of the Free Soil Party. Joseph Rayback thought

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the appearance of this new party and the results of the presidential election represented the demise of national politics as practiced in the Jacksonian Era. He based his argument upon the defeat of Van Buren and the disappearance of an entire generation of political leaders, both Democrat and Whig, in the 1848 campaign. In his analysis, Van Buren's defection from the Democrats made it easier for others to shift their political allegiance in the years before the Civil War.[5]

Eric Foner saw the Free Soilers as a nineteenth-century attempt to realign the role of the labor movement in the United States. He suggested that party leaders believed "reform—not a change in the system of production and labor relations—would solve the problem of urban poverty in the 1840s"and "offered every workingman the opportunity to achieve economic independence" by obtaining property in the West. Foner also doubted that the movement ever evolved into a viable political party. He noted that the "Free Soil Party was . . . a political party with no truly national organization, only one national newspaper, the *National Era,* and only a handful of recognized spokesmen in Washington. State parties did most of its work and some of them dissolved after the 1848 election."[6]

While understanding these views, Stanley Harrold concluded that Free Soilers such as Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era,* realized that an immediate political victory was impossible in 1848. Instead, Bailey hoped a strong showing might pave the way for future political victories. In the midst of the 1848 campaign, Bailey wrote: "This country would be better off for the disorganization of parties and the independent unfettered action of people in masses. . . . We like the Free Soil agitation . . . it is a most powerful movement for a great object, without the cumbrous machinery of a fixed party."[7]

It is intriguing to investigate the evolution of the free soil movement in Maryland and its local impact on the presidential election of 1848. With the exception of two votes cast in Texas, Maryland was the only state below the Mason-Dixon Line to officially record any voter support for the Free Soil Party in 1848.[8] The 126 votes cast in the state for Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams were minuscule when compared with the other parties' totals. Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate, won Maryland's popular vote with 37,702 ballots, while Democrat Lewis Cass received 34,528 votes. Although unimpressive with respect to numbers, it is interesting to note that this was the first time in Maryland's existence that any candidate from a third party had received any votes in a presidential election. Likewise, it would seem useful to determine whether these votes represented an independent response by a few disgruntled voters or resulted from an organized attempt to create a local political organization to advance the free soil philosophy.[9]

With the rest of the nation, Marylanders in 1848 watched national political leaders maneuver as various factions struggled to gain control of the two major parties. The state's Democrats could not unify behind any of their early candidates for the presidency. In late 1847, Levi Woodbury attracted some initial support in

Baltimore. Local leaders viewed the New Englander as "a northern man with southern principles." By early 1848, however, his support had eroded after James Buchanan made a strong showing in various contests for delegates to the national convention. When local leaders attempted to endorse a candidate on the eve of the national gathering, they deadlocked and decided to send an unpledged delegation. In Baltimore they continued to disagree and split their votes even as Lewis Cass emerged as the party standard bearer.[10]

Maryland Whigs likewise split over their party's choice of candidate in the presidential campaign. Initially they were almost equally divided between the candidacies of Henry Clay and Zachary Taylor. At their state convention in the spring of 1848, local Whigs finally decided to support Clay but instructed their delegation to the national convention in Philadelphia to switch to Taylor if the Kentuckian fell short of the party's nomination. Maryland delegates exercised that prerogative and, on the third ballot, shifted their votes to "Old Rough and Ready."[11]

This compromise selection of candidates and the "patchwork" platforms adopted by the Whig and Democratic conventions failed to satisfy a majority of the nation's antislavery advocates, who intensified their efforts to establish a new political party that would represent their cause. Marylanders interested in following these attempts found the *National Era*, published in Washington, D.C., more informative than their local newspapers. The paper's extensive coverage was not surprising given Gamaliel Bailey's ambition to make his publication the leading antislavery newspaper in the nation. To strengthen his ability to gather news in the Upper South, Bailey hired Joseph E. Snodgrass from Baltimore as a regional reporter in 1847. He had known Snodgrass for over a decade and had worked with him on an unsuccessful publishing venture in the 1830s. Bailey introduced his new reporter to his readers as "a friend of the colored man."[12]

Snodgrass was well known to Marylanders. Since the 1830s, he had used his newspaper, the *Saturday Visitor*, to champion the cause of reform movements. First, his paper, with a subscription list of five hundred, became an advocate of the temperance movement in the Chesapeake region. Then, citing his personal experience of religious revival, he began using the journal to report the activities of antislavery groups throughout the nation. Eventually he urged his readers to oppose the practice of slavery in Maryland on moral grounds. He suggested that a political solution, perhaps a Constitutional amendment, might best address this question.[13] In 1846, the *Saturday Visitor* attracted the attention of the state government in the form of an investigation. Authorities charged Snodgrass with violating an 1836 law prohibiting the publication and distribution of abolitionist materials within the state. A committee of state lawmakers then concluded their review of these complaints by stating, "Dr. Snodgrass writes from impulse" and dismissed all charges against him.[14]

The publicity both helped and hurt Snodgrass. About 40 percent of his read-

ers cancelled their subscriptions to the *Saturday Visitor*, leaving him with about three hundred paid subscribers. On the other hand, his newfound notoriety resulted in financial assistance from Gerrit Smith and other members of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in the months after the government's investigation. In a June 16 letter to Smith, the Baltimore editor predicted that he would soon have to cease publishing his paper because the dwindling readership would no longer allow him to support the needs of his growing family. He announced in the December 5, 1846, edition of the *Saturday Visitor* that he would immediately cease publication. Remaining subscribers would have their subscriptions transferred to the *National Era*. In his final remarks to his readers Snodgrass wrote, "My creed is that slavery is repugnant to God's holy word. . . . It is a system demoralizing to this land. I am in favor of a Constitutional reform."[15]

Within a matter of weeks, Snodgrass was working for the *National Era* as a reporter. Bailey expected his new correspondent to attend antislavery meetings in the mid-Atlantic region and to summarize these gatherings in a weekly news column. After his recent experience at the hands of the Maryland legislature, Snodgrass was evidently considered to be a minor celebrity and often spoke at meetings he chose to attend. His remarks usually centered on why he believed slavery was incompatible with Christianity, and he typically concluded by encouraging his listeners to pursue a political solution to the issue. Meetings at which he appeared were not without incident. In Dover, Delaware, Snodgrass and the other antislavery advocates found the doors to their meeting house locked to prevent his appearance. Two weeks later, in August 1847, a group of armed men interrupted his speech in Cecil County and threatened to harm Snodgrass unless he left the area at once.[16]

When not attending antislavery meetings, Snodgrass wrote his column for the *National Era,* often directing his remarks to his Maryland audience. He gave the paper credit for "providing an opening [for] antislavery reform" within the state and suggested that Marylanders should rethink their understanding of abolitionist goals. "The removal of this curse [slavery] from our own State is not removing it from our land and those who are satisfied with such a partial result, have yet to learn the purpose of true Abolitionism."[17] In the autumn of 1847, Snodgrasss journeyed to New York and New England to spend several days on a speaking tour with William Lloyd Garrison and Gerrit Smith. Upon his return to Baltimore, he used his weekly column as a forum to speculate on the wisdom of forming a new political party to represent the various antislavery factions in the upcoming presidential election.

For the next few months, Snodgrass devoted his column to local elections in Maryland, occasionally endorsing candidates whom he identified as either antislavery or pro-temperance. His editor, Gamaliel Bailey, concurrently encouraged Maryland acquaintances to become activists and work toward the formation of an "official free soil delegation" to the national convention in Buffalo, New York.

Toward this end, Bailey exchanged a series of letters with William Gunnison, a prominent Baltimore Quaker who had written to Bailey about trying "to aid you by obtaining something for you here. . . . You have the good wishes of not a few in the Monumental City."[18] In May 1848, Gunnison joined Snodgrass, whom he had known since their earlier involvement in the temperance movement, and the two began planning a political rally in Baltimore in July to organize a Free Soil Party in Maryland. J. Hampden Williams and Joseph Breck, two local attorneys, and Robert Gardiner, a successful furniture maker without any previous political experience, soon joined them in these planning sessions.[19]

The five men met on Thursday evening, July 20, at Baltimore's Union Hall, located at the intersection of Baltimore Street and Triplett's Alley, and finalized their plans for the rally, scheduled for July 24. They decided to include three items on their agenda. First, they would have two well-known guest speakers, Congressmen David Wilmot of Pennsylvania and Elihu Root of Ohio, take part in the meeting. Gamaliel Bailey had arranged for both politicians to attend the rally, and the planning committee believed that many in Maryland would be eager to hear both men speak. Wilmot, in particular, was viewed as an attractive "drawing card." Next, the men wrote a series of resolutions to be presented on the twenty-fourth and designed to create an "official" Free Soil Party in Maryland with representation at the Buffalo convention. Lastly, these five men requested that a second meeting be held in the port city after the Buffalo convention so that preparations could be made for conducting an appropriate campaign in Maryland before the November elections.[20]

The would-be Maryland Free Soil Party leaders also prepared posters to advertise the meeting and its purpose within the Baltimore area. Snodgrass was chosen to write these announcements and affix his name to the broadsides because he had greater public recognition than his colleagues. The posters contained nothing about the antislavery movement: "The object of this circular is to solicit the attendance of those who are in favor of the free soil movement to a public meeting for organization and appointment of delegates to the Free Soil convention to be held at Buffalo, New York." They also agreed to send copies of the poster to various newspapers in the Chesapeake area and request the information be shared with their respective readers as soon as possible.[21]

While waiting for the Monday evening meeting to convene, Snodgrass shared some thoughts with the readers of the *National Era*. He expressed surprise at "how many people of all classes and conditions—Whigs and Democrats alike—are openly advocating this movement." He continued, "The friends in this State would[,] I think, most generally advise the selection of Mr. Van Buren. Not that he is the first choice of most of them . . . simply because there would be less difficulty, here, in organizing upon Mr. Van Buren." After confessing that he personally preferred Gerrit Smith as the party's presidential candidate, he shared that "Judge McLean or John P. Hale would also be acceptable candidates for President on the Free Soil ticket." He con-

cluded by suggesting that if Marylanders identified the Free Soilers with the abolitionist movement, the new party would have trouble succeeding.[22]

That last thought was shared by some of the newspapers that commented on the projected meeting. In western Maryland the *Cumberland Civilian,* a Whig journal, sneered, "We know little of the individuals who got up this matter in Maryland, but we venture to assert a more motley and incongruous party was never collected together in a room." The *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom* suggested to its readers that the gathering was "an example of New York Barnburnerism in Maryland." A Baltimore correspondent reported in the *New York Tribune,* "The prospect in Maryland of a free soil ticket . . . [is] by no means dim. . . . The words 'Van Buren and Free Soil' were on hundreds of lips. Voters [are] not only willing but also anxious to support such a ticket. So don't be surprised at the announcement of a Free Soil ticket in Maryland." The writer, like Snodgrass, wondered whether the identification of this movement with abolitionism would prevent the party's acceptance within the state.[23]

The two largest newspapers in Baltimore carried editorials on July 24 dealing with the evening's meeting. The *Clipper* was generally neutral toward the prospect of a Free Soil Party in Maryland but did express some reservations about the possibility of enhanced sectionalism growing out of the actions of the Buffalo convention. Its editor wrote:

> We have no objections to Baltimore being represented in the Free Soil convention . . . nor do we care if a Van Buren electoral ticket be bought forward in Maryland, but we would have the delegates who may be sent to the convention, to be careful not to give countenance to any movement which may array North against the South.[24]

Across town the *Sun* also suggested that Marylanders had the right to organize a new political party. They editorialized: "As we understand it, the object of the parties to this movement, is not to interfere by word or deed in the institution of slavery as it presently exists, but only to express an opinion in relation to the introduction of slavery into any new territory acquired or to be acquired by the United States. As freemen, they have the right to express themselves."[25]

On Monday evening, July 24, a large crowd gathered in Baltimore's Union Hall. More than two hundred people filled the structure to capacity by 8 o'clock, the designated starting time for the proceedings. Those unable to find seats stood in the street outside and peered through open windows and doors. Reporters thought the crowd represented a "cross section of the city's population" and noted the presence of "well known Whigs and Democrats" in the audience. Some wondered if the prospects of seeing and hearing David Wilmot had served to increase the number of spectators.[26]

Harris Hicks, a shoemaker by trade, was introduced as the temporary chairman of the meeting. Hicks announced that John Hampden Williams, a Democrat active in local politics, would function as the "General Secretary" for the "convention." Joseph Breck, another member of the planning committee, stood and read a series of seven resolutions to the audience. They included position statements on the opposition to the spread of slavery into the western territories and identified eight men who would represent the state at the August meeting of the Free Soilers in Buffalo. All went smoothly until Breck read a statement endorsing Van Buren as the party's presidential candidate. A portion of the audience started to "hiss and jeer," which seemed to unsettle the speaker. After the noise subsided, Breck finished his remarks by recommending that he, Hicks, Snodgrass, William Gunnison, and Robert Gardiner be appointed to serve on a committee to organize a Free Soil Party in Maryland for the November elections.[27]

These issues took relatively little time to complete, and at nine o'clock, David Wilmot was introduced to the audience, which greeted the Pennsylvania politician with enthusiastic applause. The congressman had traveled to Baltimore from Washington by train especially for this speech. Weary from persistent attacks of gout, Wilmot opened his remarks by reiterating that he and other Free Soilers were not opposed to slavery in Maryland or in other slave states. He continued to explain that he simply wanted to limit the spread of its practice into the western territories. After talking for one hour, the Pennsylvanian was followed to the podium by Congressman Root of Ohio. Root spoke about the economic impact of slavery on "the white men of the North and South." When Root concluded and stepped down, John Hampden Williams announced that there would be a second general meeting for those interested in free soil politics on August 20 at Union Hall and then adjourned the gathering.[28]

The three weeks between the organizational meeting in Baltimore and the beginning of the Free Soil convention in Buffalo were busy for Joseph Snodgrass. He was mildly surprised when most of the newspapers in the Chesapeake region remained silent about the free soil movement. Only the *Civilian* in Cumberland openly expressed criticism. "We believe that the Free Soil Party has been gotten up to defeat Cass, and for no other object. What does he [Van Buren] care about the Negroes in the South?"[29] In his regular *National Era* column, Snodgrass wrote on July 27, "I really want slavery out of Maryland." He acknowledged his "moderate approach" in the recent assemblage and attributed this stance to "his abolitionist reputation." He then explained that if he had taken a more forceful position against slavery, the distinct possibility existed that it would have harmed the future of the free soil movement in Maryland. He concluded his remarks by expressing "optimism about the future of a Free Soil ticket in Maryland if the Buffalo Convention doesn't put forth candidates too obnoxious." Within a few

days of completing this column, Snodgrass confronted several issues that had the potential for destroying his attempts to establish a Free Soil presence in Maryland.[30]

First, Joseph Breck informed the other members of the "steeling committee" that he would no longer be active in the movement. Citing the need to spend more time in his law practice, Breck resigned his "presidency" of the local organization. Snodgrass was given the task of finding a replacement. He first contacted John Hampden Williams, who not only declined, but also resigned from the committee. In fact, within a week, all the other representatives resigned except Robert Gardiner and Snodgrass. The two men scrambled to fill the vacancies. Thomas Stanford, a shoemaker; Dr. John Ross, a recent immigrant; Dr. John Horwitz, a former federal employee under Van Buren; and A. J. Alden, a brickmaker, were announced as new members of the "state steering committee." None of the men had been previously active in politics. All but Horwitz had known Snodgrass from their earlier activities in the temperance movement. On the eve of the national Free Soil convention in New York, the movement in Maryland appeared to be in disarray.[31]

Eventually Snodgrass, Thomas Gardiner, William Robinson, and Edwin Thomas made the trip in early August to Buffalo. The organizers of the meeting quickly made Gardiner a "Vice President" of the convention and then appointed Robinson, Snodgrass, and Thomas to the platform and declarations committee. These appointments were apparently of a token nature since a detailed examination of the convention's records failed to reflect any speeches or other active participation by Maryland's delegation. Symbolically, their attendance seems to have made for good press. Reporters quoted Charles Francis Adams as saying, "it was a fact of momentous importance they [Maryland] have begun to talk about ending slavery." In reality, the four Marylanders, like a majority of the other delegates, were merely observers as Benjamin Butler of New York and a few colleagues worked for two days to construct an acceptable party platform.[32]

When finalized this document stressed the importance of halting the extension of slavery into the western territories. It also acknowledged that where "slavery [currently exists], it depends on state laws alone which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal government. . . . We therefore propose no interference by Congress." Other platform planks repudiated the candidates put forward by the Whig and Democratic parties in their recent conventions. Ancillary statements called for reduced postal rates, curtailed expenditures by the federal government, and the distribution of free land to frontier settlers. The delegates accepted these recommendations by a voice vote without any debate.[33]

The final item of business on the delegates' agenda was the selection of their party's nominees for president and vice president. Some of the conventioneers initially thought Martin Van Buren and John McLean would contest the top slot on the ballot, but after the McLean supporters unofficially polled key representatives they concluded it was impossible for him to win the endorsement. McLean's

name was never formally put before the delegates for a vote. Those in attendance accepted Van Buren without either a formal vote or a general discussion. Likewise, Charles Francis Adams was nominated for the vice presidency without a formal election. Some were surprised at Adams's selection since he had often criticized Van Buren's position on slavery. At the end of three days, the four Marylanders left New York and returned home to gauge the reaction to the convention's work in the Chesapeake region.[34]

Once back from Buffalo, Snodgrass threw himself into efforts to create a Free Soil Party in Maryland. First, he wrote his customary column for the *National Era,* summarizing his impressions of the events in Buffalo and then attacking the continued practice of slavery in Maryland. He questioned the system's benefit to a majority of the state's citizens and implied it existed only at the "bidding of a few slaveholders." He concluded by suggesting that plans to stop the spread of slavery into the territories were only the beginning of efforts to end the practice throughout the nation.[35] The article was his strongest stand yet on slavery, his new militancy possibly attributable to the excitement of his experience in Buffalo.

A few days after the article appeared, various regional newspapers expressed additional reservations about the purpose and impact of the new political party. The *Baltimore American* warned, "It will be [a] fortunate thing if the organization just completed in Buffalo also should not provoke a reactive movement . . . in the South." The *Herald of Freedom* in Hagerstown thundered: "There is now for the first time since the organization of the present Whig and Democratic parties, a large powerful and very dangerous third party, contending with the two old parties for the Presidency. This party can boast talents, respectability, and numbers, which must make heavy inroads upon the Whigs and Democratic parties."[36]

The August 25 edition of the *New York Herald* ridiculed Snodgrass and the continuing efforts to establish a Free Soil presence in Maryland. From Baltimore a correspondent predicted:

> The free soil convention is to meet here on Monday next, but many of those who were disposed to join the movement are now backing out on account of a member of the committee of correspondence. . . . This gentleman, although an orderly and good citizen, . . . is a radical abolitionist. . . . It has become a standard role in our town to oppose everything the doctor advocates. In short, his advocacy is certain and speedy death for everything he touches, and such will be fate of the Free Soil organization in Maryland.

Since Snodgrass was the only doctor on this committee, there could be little doubt about whom the correspondent was describing.[37]

Evidently not discouraged by this criticism, Snodgrass doggedly pursued his efforts to organize a second general free soil meeting in Baltimore. Again he pur-

chased advertising space in all of Baltimore's major newspapers. In these announcements he stressed how crucial this conference was to the future success of the party in Maryland. He identified three goals for the meeting, to be held on August 28. First, he believed that local free soil advocates must voice their support for the recent work of the Buffalo convention. Next, the organizers of this gathering wanted to appoint a presidential elector for each congressional district. Finally, they hoped to prepare a full slate of Free Soil candidates for every contested office in the upcoming elections for the entire state.

At twelve noon, on August 28, the meeting designed to fulfill these ambitious goals convened at Union Hall in Baltimore. Fewer than twenty people appeared, a fraction of the two hundred that had attended the first conference in July. Observers estimated that newspaper reporters accounted for at least half of this sparse gathering. None of the individuals who had previously been identified as officers in the state movement were present in the hall. Joseph Breck volunteered to officiate at the proceedings until an "official" arrived. He began by reading the Buffalo acceptance speeches of Van Buren and Adams to the audience. When Breck had finished reading the speeches, Snodgrass interrupted him to suggest that the sparse audience might be the result of an unfortunate mistake in timing: the meeting was being held at the traditional lunch hour. He then returned to his seat and allowed Breck to read the Free Soil platform. Newspaper correspondents duly noted that almost everyone left the hall during this discourse. Snodgrass stood for a second time and recommended that the meeting be recessed until 4:00 P.M. No one spoke, and the few remaining stragglers left the building.[38]

After an unexplained delay, the travesty continued when the assembly reconvened at 4:30 that afternoon. Correspondents again concurred that there were fewer than twenty in attendance. For those who had also been present for the midday conference, several changes were apparent. Snodgrass, not Joseph Breck who was absent, conducted the meeting. As "chair" he shared the party's slate of state electors with the spectators. These included Dr. R. T. Allen, an Eastern Shore temperance advocate who had known Snodgrass for years; John Reynolds, who owned a general store in Cecil Country; Samuel Stevens, a Baltimore cabinetmaker; and Thomas Stevens, a local shoemaker. There were no experienced politicians or current officeholders on the list. None of the men named were in attendance at Union Hall, and there was no indication that any had been consulted before their names were included on the party's ticket.[39]

Snodgrass then announced a second change from the morning's meeting. He told his listeners that there was a new "President of the Free Soil Party in Maryland." He introduced David Gamble, a Frederick County farmer, in this capacity to the audience. Snodgrass continued to speak and explained that Gamble would have complete control of the efforts to establish the Free Soilers as a viable political party in the November elections. He then asked Gamble to speak to the audience

and express his thoughts about the free soil movement's prospects in Maryland. Gamble declined, saying he was unaccustomed to speaking before large crowds. Snodgrass continued to lead the meeting and acknowledged there were "vacancies on the state's Free Soil ticket [that] would be filled by the names of true friends." It was unclear to those in attendance whether Gamble or Snodgrass would make these appointments. Before adjourning the conference, Snodgrass read a letter from John Van Buren who announced he would travel to Baltimore in the near future and promised to represent his father by making a major speech on the free soil philosophy. The audience, which had remained silent during the entire meeting, filed from the hall.[40]

The events of August 28 must have sorely disappointed Snodgrass. If judged by the size of the audience, there was little if any public support for free soil politics in Maryland. Regional newspapers were indifferent toward these efforts and questioned the movement's viability. Some publications ridiculed Snodgrass, attacks that would continue sporadically until the November election.

Perhaps Snodgrass found some solace from these events in a letter he received on August 29 from a former Maryland governor. Francis Thomas, a Democrat, had been invited to speak at the August 28 meeting in Union Hall. Now he apologized for not being at the Baltimore meeting, citing an unnamed health problem that had prevented him from making the journey from western Maryland. The old warhorse renounced his party's official candidate, Lewis Cass, and added, "if I live and can attend the polls, I will vote for the electoral ticket which stands pledged to vote for Mr. Van Buren for the Presidency and Mr. Adams for the Vice Presidency."[41] Snodgrass quickly dispatched copies of this letter to area newspapers in the hope that its publication might give the local Free Soil ticket some needed creditability and revitalize the public's dwindling interest in his efforts.

The effects of Thomas's letter fell short of the results desired by the Free Soilers. Newspapers tended to dismiss the importance of the former governor's note. Citing Thomas's poor health, the *Sun* speculated that he would probably not be a factor in the campaign. Other publications suggested that Thomas's position reflected a local split among his fellow Frederick County Democrats and questioned his real allegiance to Van Buren. Newspapers affiliated with the Maryland Whigs interpreted Thomas's letter as a local example of the national discourse among the Democrats. The *Cumberland Civilian* attributed the statement to a lack "of confidence in General Cass . . . in all Democratic circles." In Hagerstown, the *Herald of Freedom* thought the endorsement was inconsequential and characterized Thomas as "Another Big Loose Screw."[42]

In the aftermath of these disappointing responses, the free soil advocates were still adrift in their search for a formula to create public acceptance and generate enthusiasm in Maryland. For his part, David Gamble melted back into the Frederick County countryside and had no additional involvement with the movement or its

activities. Across the bay on the Eastern Shore, Dr. R. T. Allan announced that he would not accept any position on the Free Soil ticket in Maryland. Finances became more of a problem when William Gunnison and his affluent Quaker friends withdrew from the movement after the Buffalo convention.

At this critical juncture, Snodgrass made an interesting decision. He decided to leave Maryland and travel to Pennsylvania, where he spent two weeks in mid-September campaigning with that state's Free Soil leaders. Perhaps he finally realized the futility of his efforts or maybe he believed his presence north of the Mason-Dixon Line could be more beneficial to the free soil crusade.[43] Whatever the case, Snodgrass pounded the campaign trail and made a series of ten speeches in support of local and national Free Soil candidates. He spoke in Laurel, Kenneth Square, Lancaster, and Reading. Some of these speaking engagements lasted for more than one day. He typically shared the podium with John Van Buren, who was representing his father on this campaign swing. Most often Snodgrass was the last speaker on the program and was introduced as a "friend [or believer] from a slave state." He continued to write his column in the *National Era* during this visit and his readers were also informed of "disappointing turnouts at these meetings." Snodgrass explained that the poor response was a byproduct of an "internal argument between the eastern and western followers of the party" in Pennsylvania. With the prospects of continuing his junket and accompanying Van Buren into Ohio becoming dim, Snodgrass returned to Maryland during the last week of September.[44]

Back in his Baltimore office, Snodgrass found additional defections from the Free Soil camp had occurred during his absence. David Cloud, a local Democrat who had earlier announced his intentions to run for sheriff on the new party's ticket, now backed away from this stance. In early October, former governor Thomas changed his endorsement for the presidency and switched his support to Taylor. Within two weeks, a correspondent for the *New York Herald* stated from Baltimore, "Free Soil, politically, . . . seems to have lost its vitality . . . even the Quakers have thrown up their hats here for old Zach."[45]

It is difficult to determine much of Snodgrass's activities for the weeks preceding the November election. His column was "dark" during most of October, possibly because for some reason Gamaliel Bailey chose that time to take leave of Washington and accompany his family to New Jersey for a vacation. Snodgrass filed two articles with the *Era* on October 4 and 19, but neither was published in Bailey's absence. It is also possible that other columns were not written because Snodgrass, who had been described as "sickly," was suffering from one of his periodic illnesses.[46]

The silence was broken in the last October issue of the *National Era* when Snodgrass penned a brief statement that the Free Soil Party would have "new electors" rather than those announced at the August meeting in Union Hall. One week later, on November 3, the eve of the presidential election, Joseph wrote a lengthy column in the *Era* that was unusual in several respects. Unlike all of his other

contributions, this article was printed on the front page of the paper and ran for two and one-half columns, which was considerably longer than anything else he had published. He specifically addressed the piece to "The People of Maryland."

He began by stating, "We have been most grossly misrepresented by those who denounce the movement of the Free Soil Party [by] blending that party with the Abolitionists. Whereas, no two facts or truths in existence are more distant and separate from each other." He never condemned the abolitionist persuasion but vigorously criticized slavery on economic rather than moral or religious grounds, arguing that free western territories would be beneficial to all workers, including Maryland's, because free territory would force factory owners to pay higher wages.[47] When the ballots in Maryland were counted the next day, the Free Soilers had received only 126 votes, distributed in the following pattern:

MARYLAND FREE SOIL VOTES IN 1848

Allegany County	3
Anne Arundel County	5
Baltimore City	74
Baltimore County	7
Carroll County	7
Cecil County	4
Frederick County	20
Kent County	1
Montgomery County	1
Prince George's County	1
Talbot County	1
Washington County	1
Worcester County	1

Any attempt to analyze these sparse returns would be tenuous at best. The votes in Baltimore were distributed fairly evenly in seventeen of the existing twenty election wards. There also seems to have been no relationship between differences in resident ethnic groups and the Free Soil totals, nor does there appear to be a correlation between the distribution of these votes and those cast in either 1852 or 1856 for other third-party candidates.[48]

Among the counties, the Frederick County totals are worth special notice. The *Frederick Citizen* speculated that local returns reflected the fact that David Gamble, who had been briefly involved with the movement, was a resident. Most of the votes were cast in either the Emmitsburg or Creagerstown districts of the county. Another explanation for these votes might rest with the readership of the *National Era*. Starting with the paper's initial issue, there is evidence that at least seven of its

subscribers resided in these two areas of Frederick County.[49] In the other counties, especially Cecil, Kent, Talbot, and Worcester, Snodgrass had maintained his correspondence during the campaign with a handful of acquaintances whom he had known from his earlier involvement with the temperance movement. It is also likely that some Marylanders simply cast Free Soil ballots out of personal allegiance to Martin Van Buren or private antislavery beliefs.

The efforts of the free soil advocates in the Chesapeake region to establish a viable political party in Maryland were flawed in many respects. Like their counterparts in other states, these men had limited funds to spend on their campaign efforts. They relied on the generosity of men like William Gunnison and a few of his fellow Quakers to fund the costs of the election. When those men discontinued their participation in the movement, the remaining leaders lost their source of financial support. Nor were any experienced politicians of note involved in the free soil efforts in Maryland. Some, like John C. Howard and John Hampden Williams, had limited experience on the "ward level" in Baltimore politics, but both would sever their relationship with the Free Soilers in 1848 and return to their former parties after only a few weeks of involvement with the new group.[50] Like most other state campaigns, the Maryland Free Soilers failed to take a position on local issues or important state concerns in this election. They were a one-issue party.[51]

Finally, it is impossible to minimize the impact of Joseph Snodgrass's association with the movement. Although his column in the *National Era* did provide a source of information to those interested in the free soil philosophy in Maryland, that has to be weighed against his reputation with his contemporaries. One nineteenth-century observer would later characterize Joseph as someone "who believed in agitation and to whose existence it was necessary." Perhaps his relationship with the free soil effort in Maryland was best expressed by that unnamed Baltimore correspondent for the *New York Herald* who wrote about Snodgrass on August 25, 1848. "He is a regular dissolusionist, or at least a speedy dissolution follows every movement with which his name is connected. In short, his advocacy is a certain and speedy death to everything he touches, and such will be the fate of the free soil organization in Maryland."[52]

In the weeks following the 1848 election, Snodgrass stopped writing his weekly column for the *National Era* and refocused his attention on his medical practice in Baltimore, which he continued until 1853. He agreed to allow his name to be placed on the ballot in 1852 as an elector for the Free Soil Party in Maryland but was not active in that campaign.[53] Joseph moved to New York City in 1854 and worked for the American Anti-Slavery Society's efforts to relocate northerners into the Kansas Territory. He returned to the Baltimore area in 1865 and eventually resumed his medical practice. Concurrently, Snodgrass continued his involvement in vari-

ous legal efforts and Constitutional reforms designed to improve the quality of life for former slaves in the South during Reconstruction.[54]

NOTES

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7. Harrold, *Gamaliel Bailey*, 123–24; *The National Era* [Washington, D.C.], September 28, 1848.
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14. Maryland, Journal of the Senate, 1845, 44, 126–27; Journal of the House, 1845, 107–8.
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18. Ibid.
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20. *National Era*, July 21, 1848; *New York Herald*, July 24, 1848; *Baltimore Clipper*, July 22, 1848.
21. *National Era*, July 21, 1848.
22. Ibid.
23. [Cumberland] *The Civilian*, July 23, 1848; [Hagerstown] *Herald of Freedom*, July 19, 1848; *New York Tribune*, July 18, 1848.
24. *Baltimore Clipper*, July 24, 1848.
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41. *New York Tribune,* September 4, 1848. Rayback, *Free Soil,* 251, cited this letter as evidence that Thomas was responsible for organizing the movement in Maryland. That was not the case.
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On the Trail of Alfred Jacob Miller

GRETCHEN M. COOKE

Alfred Jacob Miller (1810–74) is best known for his paintings and sketches of the Indians and fur trappers of the Rocky Mountains. The phenomenal success of this Romantic Western art has overshadowed his early expertise as a portrait, landscape, and historical artist. Miller spent the majority of his sixty-four years in Baltimore as artist, mentor, and teacher, but it is unlikely that he would have achieved the same degree of recognition if he had not traveled to the West in 1837.

That trip is well documented in numerous histories of the American West.[1] Historians and anthropologists use these sketches and paintings as ethnographic resources and artists and scholars appreciate their Romantic qualities. Art lovers now recognize Miller's mythic portrayals and simultaneously delight in the sheer beauty he created with his striking interplay of color and light. This essay looks at the artist's early years in Baltimore and the factors that sent him in search of fortune in the late summer months of 1837—a fortune that earned him an enduring reputation as "one of the most important recorders of the western epic."[2]

Born in Baltimore on January 2, 1810, to George W. and Harriet J. Miller, Alfred Jacob Miller was the oldest of nine children.[3] City directories list George W. Miller in various occupations, including Proprietor of a Liquor Store (1810), Innkeeper and Distiller of Cordials (1812), Dry Goods Merchant and Grocer (1822), and by 1836, the year of his death, Sugar Refiner.[4] The liquor store and dry goods stores were located in the heart of the city's market section, and a list of debts due the senior Miller's estate included the bar tabs of many influential nineteenth-century Baltimoreans—Samuel Ridgley, William Ridgeway, Jacob Heald, William Gilmor(e), and the firm of Hopkins & Brothers.[5] An inventory of the estate included the grocery store/warehouse, a sugar house, a liquor store, the residence on Fish Market, and a farm with twenty-nine slaves at Hawkins Point.[6]

George Miller paid for his son to attend John D. Craig's Academy on West Fayette Street. Craig's students gained a classical education and had access to "astronomical and philosophical instruments, imported from London of a costly

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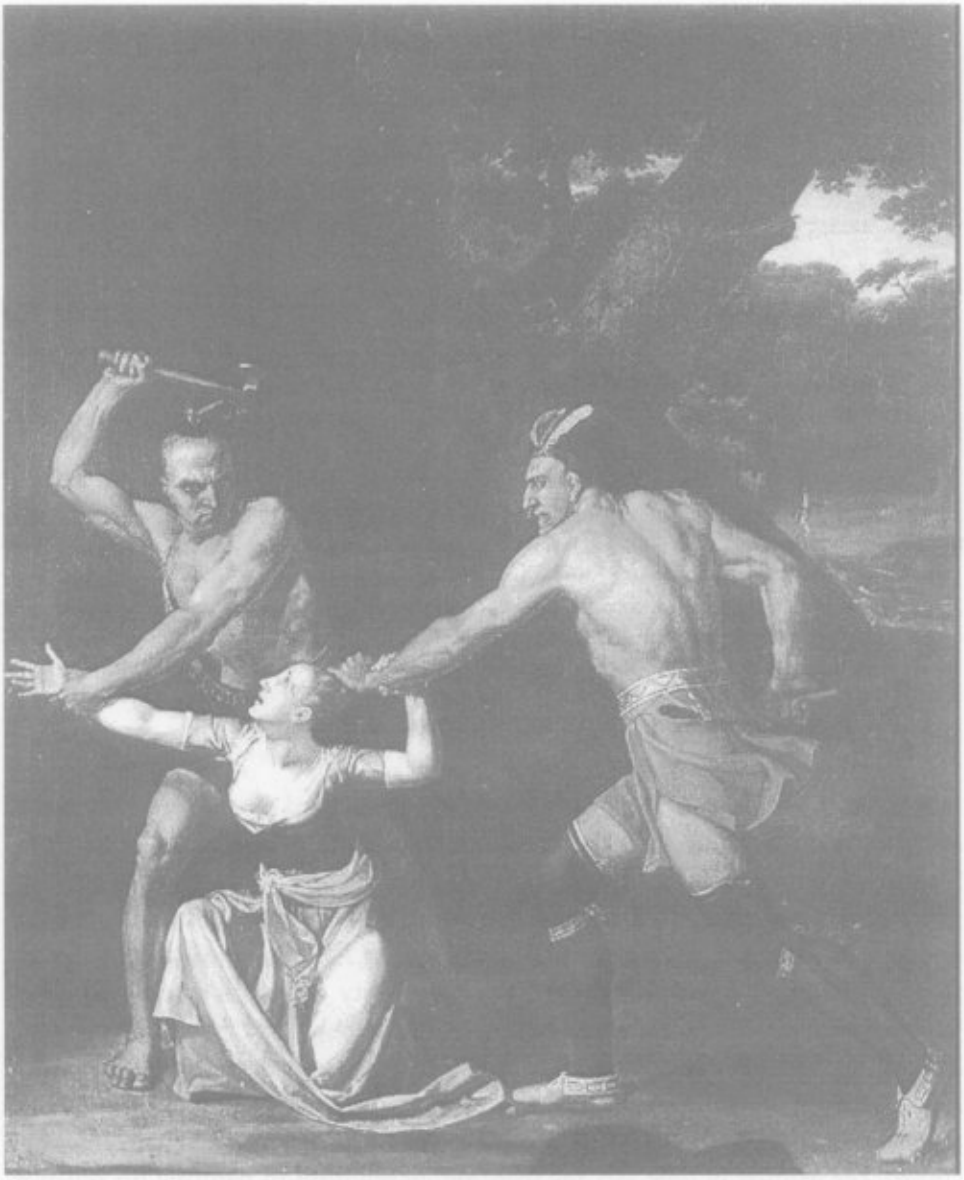
Opposite: Scottish nobleman William Drummond Stewart, painted here reclining by his campsite, commissioned Baltimore artist Alfred Jacob Miller to travel west with him in 1837. Miller's western sketches became the foundation for many of his later paintings and gained him national recognition. (Detail, Stewart's Camp, Lake, Wind River, *1868. Maryland Historical Society.)*

Alfred Jacob Miller, self-portrait, 1827. (Maryland Historical Society.) Portraits and copies of famous works earned Miller an income throughout his career. One artist he copied was John Vanderlyn, whose 1804 work, The Death of Jane McCrea, *is shown opposite. Miller's copy was displayed for years in Peale's Baltimore Museum.(Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art.)*

order, & probably at that time the most complete in the city . . . from these he lectured on certain nights to full audiences, and the lectures were popular & well attended."[7] Alfred described his classmates in an 1832 journal entry as "from some of the first families in Baltimore at the time . . . the . . . Gills, Welsh's, Carr's, Lows, McBlairs. . . ."[8]

Baltimore City thrived during Miller's childhood years. Businessmen such as his father benefited tremendously from the post-Revolutionary war economic boom. In just a few short decades, the ramshackle town on the backwaters of the Patapsco River became the fastest growing city in the new nation.[9] The senior Miller's financial success enabled Alfred and his siblings to enjoy private school, a farm in the country, association with some of the "first families in Baltimore at the time," and the opportunity to study art.[10] Miller was fortunate in that he entered the field with the backing of an established family and a classical education. Many young early nineteenth-century artists did not fare so well. Limners—artists who did portraiture on wood or canvas—frequently survived by painting houses and signs, working as blacksmiths, decorating furniture, engraving calling cards, and carving tombstones.[11]

Miller had established himself as a local artist by 1832 when he wrote of an extended trip to Mount Vernon where he visited with the family of Major Lawrence Lewis, nephew of George Washington. There he saw the key to the Bastille that the Marquis de Lafayette had given the general and a conservatory of plants from around the world.[12] From Mount Vernon he went on to Arlington as George Washington Parke Custis's guest. The artist wrote in his journal, "I was completely in my favorite element as Mr. C. was, in addition to other excellent qualities an enthusi-



astic artist, composing Historical designs with ability. . . . Arlington Mansion contains some fine old paintings of the Washington family & other celebrated personages."[13] Not only did Miller associate with society's elite, he also shared their enthusiasm for painting.[14]

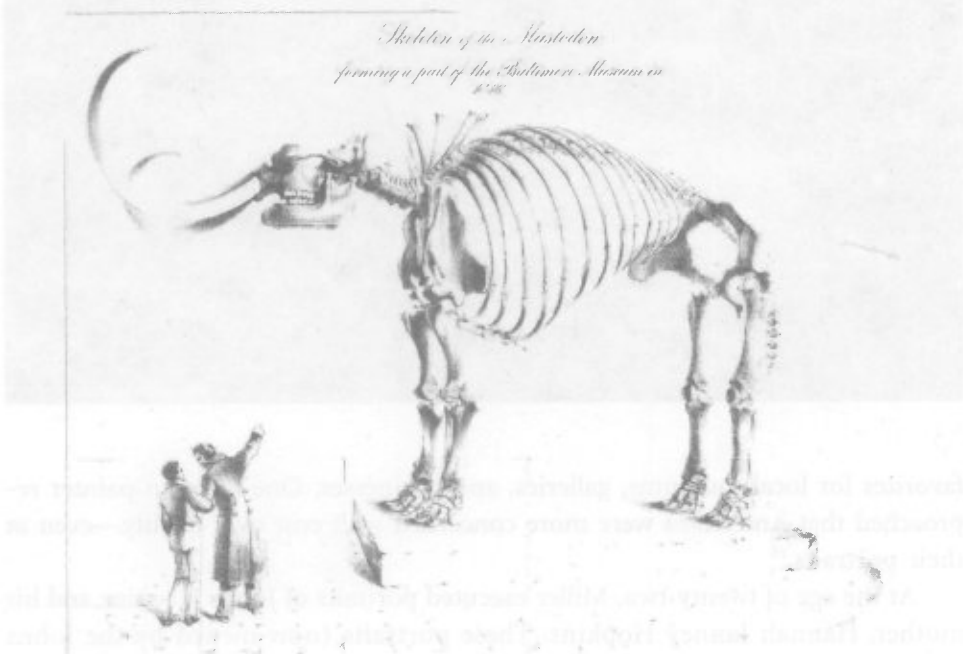
Maude Early, the artist's first biographer, wrote that an eighteen-year-old Miller painted a life-sized canvas, *The Murder of Jane McCrae*, that hung for a number of years in Peale's Baltimore Museum and Gallery of Fine Art.[15] The cur-

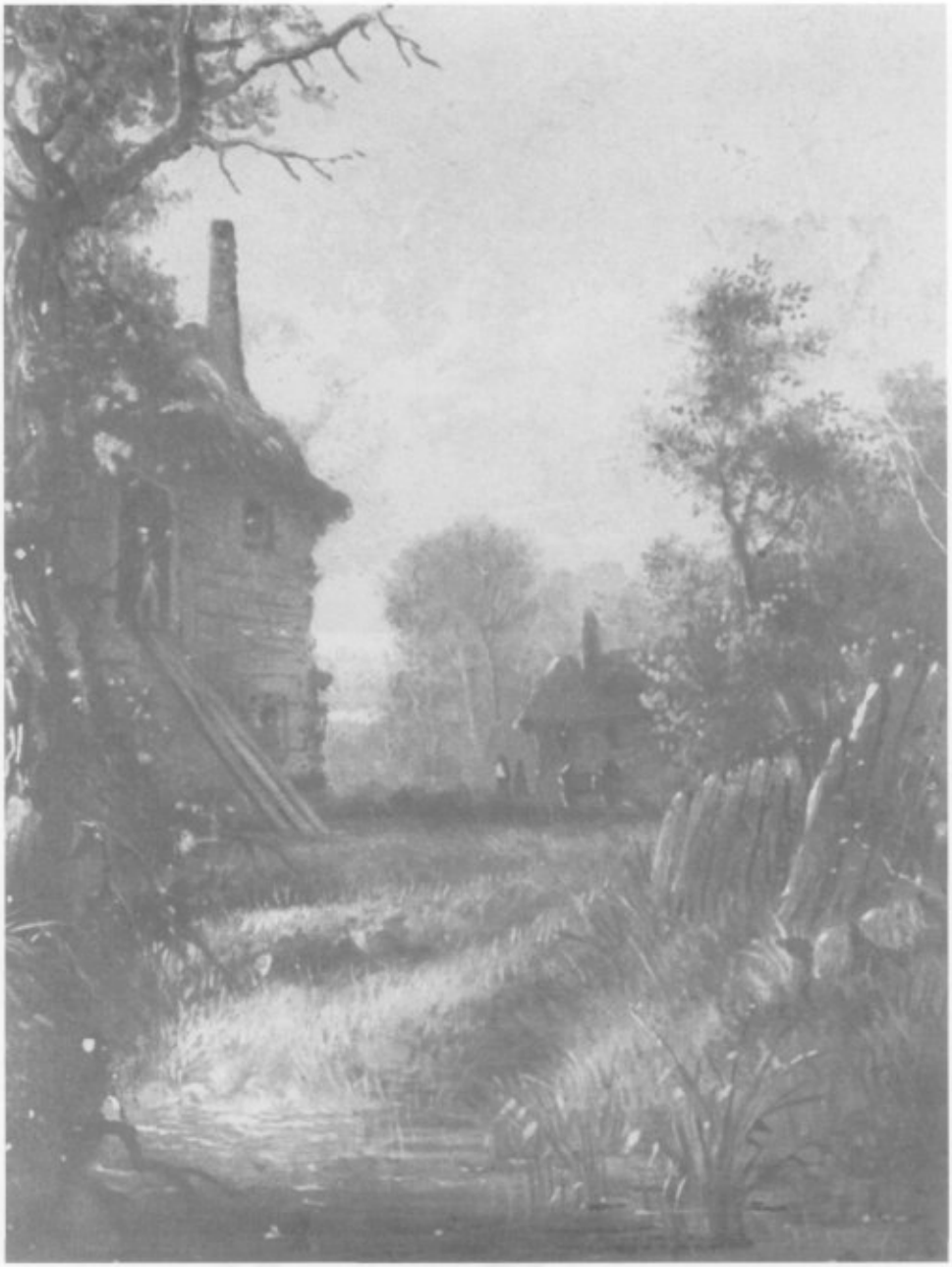
Alfred Jacob Miller's Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain *(1840–1870). In the pre-photography days of the early nineteenth century, art collectors, antiquarians, and gallery owners commissioned local artists for copy-portraits such as these of the Spanish monarchs. They then exhibited those works in an effort to educate the general public—many of whom would have no other opportunity to "see" prominent historical figures. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

rent location of this painting is not known, but this record of its existence serves as evidence that the young artist had joined the ranks of his peers and supplemented his income copying famous works. John Vanderlyn's (1775–1852) famous painting *The Death of Miss McCrae* drew large crowds to an 1804 exhibit at the Paris Salon and later to multiple showings at the Academy of Arts in New York (1816, 1826, 1827).[16] Although not documented, the possibility exists that Peale exhibited Vanderlyn's *Jane McRae* at his Holliday Street museum, not far from Miller's home. An exhibit that included Vanderlyn's allegorical *Ariadne Asleep on the Island of Naxos*, opened in 1820.[17] A historical work with a contemporary theme, the McCrea painting depicts two Mohawk Indians scalping a young woman. That Miller had copied *The Murder of Jane McCrae* painting, in addition to painting his self-portrait, shows he had obtained some artistic competence at an early age.

Baltimore, as the nation's fourth largest city attracted patronage-seeking artists. Wealthy and classically educated clients in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore appreciated the arts and encouraged rigorous intellectual and artistic training for the country's promising young painters. In turn, Miller and his peers sought the patronage of Baltimore's elite. Rising artists worked as tradesmen in the merchant community, plied their craft, and haggled and bargained over the price of their work. They painted portraits and landscapes, commemorated patriotic events in oil, and copied the Old Masters, historic figures, and contemporary

Miller's romantic view of The Bombardment of Fort McHenry *(1828–30) probably graced a local patriotic American history exhibit at the Baltimore Lyceum or the Maryland Institute College of Art. His* Sketch of the Mastodon Forming a Part of the Baltimore Museum in 1836 *is evidence of his attraction to the burgeoning field of "natural history" and his time at Peale's Museum. (Maryland Historical Society.)*





favorites for local museums, galleries, and businesses. One German painter reproached that Americans were more concerned with cost over quality—even in their portraits.[18]

At the age of twenty-two, Miller executed portraits of Johns Hopkins and his mother, Hannah Janney Hopkins. These portraits (now owned by the Johns

Miller embarked on a European study tour in 1833 and sketched these countryside scenes. The thatched roof in the view on the left suggests that this "unidentified" work probably dates to the artist's trip abroad. Above, "Italian Villa." (Miller sketchbook, Maryland Historical Society.)

Hopkins University) provide evidence of Miller's membership in the local artistic community and his ability in portraiture at an early age. Johns Hopkins was an important and wealthy member of the Baltimore community, and Miller had obviously secured an important commission.

Baltimore's journeymen enjoyed the company of established artists such as Rembrandt Peale, "the first citizen of the U. States, who has erected a building at no small expense for the sole purpose of appropriating it as a Museum and Gallery for fine paintings."[19] The museum, located in close proximity to Miller's home, probably played an important part in Alfred J. Miller's life. Not only did Peale exhibit art, he also displayed "Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Snakes, Antiquities, Indian Dresses, and War Instruments, Shells and Miscellaneous Curiosities," natural history specimens, mineral collections, many curiosa, and a mastodon skeleton.[20] Peale's wide and varied collections offered Baltimoreans an eclectic art experience and Miller's ample museum exposure resulted in one of his few known lithographs—the mastodon skeleton at the Peale Museum in Baltimore.[21]

The young artist also pursued his talent abroad. European artists directly influenced aspiring Americans who considered continental study an essential part of their training. In 1833, the year after he completed the Hopkins portraits, Miller wrote home from the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris where "Through the influence of . . . (our Consul then in France, I was admitted into the government Ecole des Beaux Arts, I attended this School during the whole time I sojourned in Paris without a sous expense to myself, (further than purchasing materials [with which to

Jessica *(1840–1870). "Alfred J. Miller was a brother of my grandfather. . . . The model for the face was a Jewish girl who lived nearby Uncle Alfred's house." (Maryland Historical Society.)*

"Sketch for Miss Henderson." Miller often worked from pencil sketches. Clients commissioned portraits of themselves, their wives, their children, or their parents. Some families ordered portraits of deceased loved ones. (Miller sketchbook. Maryland Historical Society.)

Dr. William Fell Johnson (1789–1862) and Ruth Berkley (1858–1864). Accession notes indicate that Miller may have painted this child's portrait posthumously. (Maryland Historical Society.)

work])"[22] In the fashion of other privileged young artists, Miller followed Rembrandt Peale's example. Peale had studied in England and France and copied Old Masters such as Rubens, Raphael, Van Dyke, Correggio, Veronese, and Titian in Rome's Borghese Palace. Miller wrote, "Shortly after reaching Rome, I was admitted into the English Life School, being the only American . . . the posing of the models took place at night. These night studies were invaluable to me & I progressed wonderfully."[23]

In Rome, Miller developed a friendship with the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorwaldensen and studied with artist Horace Vernet whose application technique he later tried to recreate, " . . . [Vernet used] brushes from an inch . . . in breadth . . . paint was slapped on 'ad libitum' . . . [and created] a beautiful effect."[24] His journal entries also provide information on later trips to England and Scotland.[25]

This European study tour was not unusual for American artists and writers of the day. James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, John G. Chapman, Louisa May Alcott, Samuel Morse, and Horatio Greenough all spent time abroad during this period. They shared a sense of fraternity and a willingness to aid fellow artists. Greenough welcomed Miller and served as his advisor. Many remained lifelong friends upon their return to America.

There is evidence that Robert Gilmor Jr., wealthy Baltimore art collector, may have served as patron not only to Horatio Greenough but also to Miller. In March 1833, Gilmor wrote to Benjamin Chew Howard who at that time served in House of Representatives. "I want you to do me a favor, or rather do one to a deserving young artist, the son of Miller the Tavern keeper at the Center Market so famous, who's about embarking for Europe to proceed to Italy to study his profession. You may

possibly know something . . . or I think you have . . . some of his paintings when he was a child in his father's grocery store at the corner of Second Street and the Market. His name is Alfred J. Miller, 23 years of age, blue eyes, brown hair, complexion rather dark, and with a scar in the middle of his forehead. 5 feet 4 ½ inches high."[26] Horatio Greenough, in a letter dated July 25, 1833, to Robert Gilmor, informed the patron that he was awaiting Miller's arrival in Florence from Paris.[27]

Further details of Miller's European study tour itinerary and his return home are vague. The 1833 *Baltimore City Directory* lists "Miller, A. J., portrait painter, cor[ner] Frederick and Baltimore Streets." The artist could have placed the ad from Europe in anticipation of his homecoming. Miller wrote in his journal, "In the winter of 1834 . . . he and three students were . . . engaged in the magnificent halls of the Borgese palace at Rome, Italy."[28] By early December 1834 the following notice appeared in the *Baltimore American*:

> Alfred J. Miller/Artist
>
> Having recently returned from Europe where he has been Assiduously engaged in studying the Art of Painting, respectfully Informs his friends and the public generally, that he has taken rooms No. 153 Colonade Row, Baltimore Street, directly over Mr. George Willig's music store.
>
> Copies and sketches of celebrated pictures existing in the "Palazzo Borghese," Rome; "Accademia Reale," Florence; "Palazzo Ducale," Venice; and the "Louvre" of Paris, together with his original work, may be seen at his rooms — the public are invited to call and examine them.[29]

Miller apparently had trouble establishing himself upon his return home. His father died in 1836 and, despite an extensive estate inventory, the patriarch died heavily in debt. The estate remained in the probate courts for seven years.[30] As oldest son and co-executor, Miller took responsibility for settling his father's estate. In addition, Miller's mother Harriet died on December 25, 1837 and it is unclear where his siblings lived after 1837. His father's properties had been sold to pay debts. At the age of twenty-six, it appears Alfred J. Miller was abruptly thrown into a position of unexpected responsibility. Additionally, the Panic of 1837 and its resulting economic turbulence undoubtedly played a part in Miller's struggle. In the wake of these troubles and apparently seeking a solution, Miller left Baltimore for New Orleans:

> In the month of Sept 1837 a young man left his home to seek a fortune in New Orleans. Troubles of all kind had accumulated, & he in order not to be burdensome, engaged passage on a merchant ship & in a week reached his destination, with $30.00 in his pocket, not knowing where the next dollar was to come from.[31]

Miller's Shoshone Indian and Pet Horse, *1850. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

Miller first traveled to New Orleans, where Scottish nobleman Captain William Drummond Stewart (1795–1871) engaged him as the artist on his fifth expedition to the Rocky Mountains. Stewart's party traveled with guide Tom Fitzpatrick and the fur trappers to their annual rendezvous site along the route that later became known as the Oregon Trail. Miller sketched and recorded the scenery, the Indians, and the fur trappers last great rendezvous.

Did Miller accept the invitation to travel with Captain Stewart purely as an artist of the Romantic school of art? Was he looking for a Romantic adventure where he could paint and experience new and previously unexplored horizons? Was Miller's objective primarily one of financial incentive? Or, did all of these factors drive the young artist to the Rocky Mountains? There is no record of a specific financial agreement between Stewart and Miller, yet the latter indicated in a letter prior to his trip West that Stewart had spent more than twenty thousand dollars in preparation for the trip.[32]

Stewart's Camp, Lake, Wind River, *1868. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

Evidently Miller did not keep a complete accounting of his works prior to 1846 but account books from 1846 until his death in 1874 survive. On February 6, 1847, he billed William Drummond Stewart $968 for a religious painting, *Jepthah's Vow,* and received payment on September 5, 1848. Miller, in his letter to Brantz Mayer prior to his 1837 trip West, stated "[I am] . . . under an engagement, to proceed with Capt. W. D. Stewart (an affluent gentlemen), on an expedition to the Rocky Mountains." The use of 'engagement' by Miller indicates a contract of some sort existed between Miller and Stewart. It may well be Alfred J. Miller saw this as an opportunity to improve upon an impoverished financial situation at home.[33] His Baltimore clientele also paid him for his paintings of Indians and the West, portraits, copies of Old Masters and less well known artists, still life paintings, religious paintings, and tutoring.[34]

Alfred J. Miller succeeded in establishing himself as a well-respected artist upon his return to Baltimore. Just three years earlier, following the death of his father, Miller had left Baltimore deeply troubled and with only thirty dollars in his pockets. He had executed approximately two hundred sketches while in the West. These sketches as well as memories of past events retold by the fur trappers around the campfires provided an unlimited supply of material. Miller's commissions from

Stewart continued following the captain's return to Scotland—there were castle walls to decorate with paintings done from the Western sketches. Miller had traveled far beyond the confines of artist and portrait painter of Baltimore.

An 1839 exhibition of Miller's commissioned western works opened at the Apollo Gallery in New York and generated favorable reviews. *The Morning Herald* reported "for several days and evenings the town has been delighted with the Pictures painted by Alfred J. Miller. . . . [the] principal merit of these works is their originality—boldness and accuracy of drawing and perspective."[35] The originality of the subject matter was a paramount factor in Miller's success.

Miller's economic situation prior to 1836 had been tied to that of his family's economic health, and when he returned from Europe he had not established himself as an artist before his father's death brought financial strain to the family. As co-executor of his father's estate and oldest son he took responsibility for his mother and siblings. The success of the western trip brought him acclaim and financial security. Stewart, obviously pleased, invited him to Murthly Castle where he completed the paintings of the expedition West. In addition to his Indian paintings, Miller painted two religious works for the chapel at Murthly. These must have also pleased Stewart because he commissioned additional religious paintings at a later date.[36]

It is interesting to note that Miller did not keep an account of his commissions until 1846, the year following the submission of the seventh and final administration account of his father's estate. If indeed he kept no earlier account books, there may have been a number of reasons. George W. Miller apparently died heavily in debt and his son may have spent those nine years paying off those obligations and re-establishing his family's financial reputation in Baltimore. The possibility also exists that he did not wish to leave an account of his commissions during this period. Or he simply may have not felt settled enough to undertake an accounting until he was established back in Baltimore. If Miller had not faced these financial difficulties he may not have traveled to New Orleans and subsequently West where he created the legacy by which he is best remembered.[37]

NOTES

1. Bernard DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947); Marvin Ross, *The West of Alfred J. Miller* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951); Ron Tyler, Karen Dewees Reynolds, William R. Johnson, *Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist on the Oregon Trail* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1982); Ron Tyler, *Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist as Explorer* (Sante Fe: Gerald Peters Gallery, 1999).

2. *Fortune Magazine*, January 1944, page 2, vertical file, Enoch Pratt Free Library; Post World War II national pride and interest in the American West prompted a resurgence of interest in Miller's work. His paintings went on exhibit at the Walters Art Gallery, the Peale Museum, and in museums and galleries across the country.

3. Tyler, et al., *Artist on the Oregon Trail*, 451

4. *Baltimore City Directories*, 1752–1843; MF 2856–6390, Maryland State Archives.
5. George W. Miller, List of Debts, Baltimore County Inventories, 1836 Liber 44: 392–403, Maryland State Archives.
6. George W. Miller, Will, Libre 15:483–85; Administration Accounts C261; Inventories, Liber 45:392–403, Maryland State Archives.
7. Alfred J. Miller Journal, 1832, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland, 84–92. Unpublished journal written by the artist. Parts appear to have been written later in life as there are discrepancies in some of the dates. Descendents may have repaginated the journal.
8. Miller Journal, 84.
9. Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 3–5.
10. Miller Journal, 85.
11. A review of the *Baltimore City Directories* for these early years reveals how some local artists struggled to support themselves. Some portraitists undoubtedly subsidized their income painting houses, but not all "painters" were artists. Three individuals listed themselves as limners, one in the 1796 directory and two in the 1799 directory. Albright, Wm. (1824, landscape painter); Alford, John (1819, sign painter); Allen, Samuel (1819, sign painter), (1827, painter), (1829, painter and glazier); Beck (no first name), (1796, limner); Bishop, Richard (1819, sign painter); Delphine, Jno. (1827, chair ornamentor); Francis, Guy (1810, landscape painter); Harrison, George (1799 & 1800, limner), (1802, painter); Hassam, Josiah (or Jacob) (1796 & 1800, painter), Johnson, Joshua (1796, 1800, 1802, painter), (1802 & 1810, limner), (1802, portrait painter); Jones, Richard (1796, painter and glazier), (1800, painter), (1802, painter and glazier), (1824, painter); Moore, Henry (1796, painter & glazier), (1799, sign painter), (1800, painter), (1802, painter and glazier), (1803, sign painter), (1827, painter and glazier); Morange, Etienne, (1796, miniature portrait painter); Moranges, Stephen (1800 & 1801, painter, limner, and musician); Peale, Rembrandt (1819, artist at the Museum), (1822–23, proprietor of the Baltimore Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts); Peale, Rubens (1824, naturalist and proprietor of the Baltimore Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts); Pise (Pife), Lewis (1800-1801, miniature painter); Pollard, Seth, ornamental painter); Ruckle, Thomas (1799, painter and glazier), (1802 painter and glazier); Stamman, U. B. (1819, ornamental painter); Tilyard, Philip (1827, portrait painter); Tilyard, William (1799, painter and glazier), (1800–1801, painter); Yander, Faithful (1800–1801, painter), (1802, painter and glazier).
12. Miller Journal, 4.
13. Miller Journal, 5–6.
14. Miller Journal 27. Miller wrote in the winter of 1841 of "spending a great deal of time in the City of Washington . . . where I met and became acquainted with King (Charles Bird King, 1785–1862) and Chapman, noted artists." Mount Vernon and Arlington appear to have played a significant role in the life of artists of the early nineteenth century. John Gadsby Chapman (1808–89) of Alexandria, Virginia, and perhaps best known for his mural "The Baptism of Pocahontas" that hangs today in the Rotunda of the Capital in Washington, was a guest at Mount Vernon and Arlington in 1831. While at Arlington he copied a number of paintings, including Charles Willson Peale's *Portrait of Washington*. It is not known whether Miller and Chapman crossed paths during their respective visits to Mount Vernon and Arlington, but Miller did know Chapman by 1841.
15. Maude Rieman Early, *Alfred J. Miller*. Pamphlet written for the Maryland Historical Society (1898?), The Walters Art Museum (E1A19M6E12); *The Paintings of Alfred Jacob Miller, An Exhibition at the Peale Museum*, January 8 to February 12, 1950.
16. Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (National Museum

of American Art, Smithsonian Institution) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 18; Robert Hughes, *American Visions* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 182–83.

17. William Harvey Hunter, *The Story of America's Oldest Museum Building* (Brochure–150 Anniversary Celebration, The Peale Museum 1814–1964) (Baltimore: The Peale Museum, 1964), 1; *Federal Gazette*, February 16, 1820.

18. Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), 59–70.

19. William Harvey Hunter, *The Story of America's Oldest Museum Building* Baltimore: The Peale Museum, 1964), 1.

20. Robert Hughes, *American Visions* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 99–101; Hunter, *The Story of America's Oldest Museum Building*, 9.

21. Miller's lithograph, *Sketch of the Mastodon Forming a Part of the Baltimore Museum in 1836*, is in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Rembrandt Peale followed his father's example and modeled the museum after his father's in Philadelphia. Beginning in 1822, with the museum under the directorship of Peale's brother Reuben, annual art exhibits included the works of contemporary artists such as Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Sully, John Vanderlyn, and the works of Charles Willson and Rembrandt Peale. In addition copies and originals of Old Masters such as Leonardo da Vinci were exhibited.

22. Miller, Journal, 82–83.

23. Miller, Journal, 43–44.

24. Miller Journal, 7, 15, 22, 34.

25. In a letter dated October 12, 1866, Miller indicated he had also spent time in Switzerland. He wrote to his student and fellow Maryland artist Frank B. Mayer (then studying in Europe), "From last account per Mr. Brantz Mayer . . . you were sojourning in the land of the Mountain of the Lake. It is quite pardonable to envy you at present, for my recollections of Switzerland are tinged with rainbow splendor." Alfred J. Miller later in life recalled his sojourn in Europe as the best period of his life. In an earlier letter to Frank Mayer on November 7, 1864, he recalled, "You ought to be very contented and happy, Frank, in that superlative city of Paris. . . . The most agreeable recollections I have in looking back are connected with that city. I was about 22 years of age, and everything was rose-tinted."

26. Robert Gilmor to Benjamin C. Howard Sr., House of Representatives, Washington, March 15, 1833. Benjamin Chew Howard Collection, Box 17, folder 1820–1865, MS469, MHS.

27. Although George W. Miller appeared prosperous on paper and may have had the resources to provide the funding for his son's tour of study in Europe, historians have speculated Gilmor may have provided support to Alfred J. Miller. Considered the "most distinguished collector and connoisseur in the city—indeed in the whole country," Gilmor offered commissions, patronage, and friendship to many young artists of nineteenth-century America.

28. *Matchett's Baltimore City Directory*, 1833; Miller Journal, page 7.

29. *Baltimore American*, December 8, 1834.

30. Will of George W. Miller, January 9, 1836, 15: 483–85, Baltimore County Register of Wills; George W. Miller, Inventory, Baltimore County Register of Wills 45:392–402; First Administration Account, 35:5–8; Second Administration Account, 38:47–49; Third Administration Account, 38:49–52; Seventh Administration Account, Baltimore County Register of Wills 46: 200–201; Deed July 23, 1834, Chancery Papers, Baltimore County Court, Maryland State Archives. The author has prepared a complete analysis of these documents.

31. Miller Journal, 61.

32. Alfred J. Miller to Brantz Mayer, April 23, 1837, Mayer Collection, MS581, MHS. See also Jean J. Page, "Frank B. Mayer," *Minnesota History*, 46 (1978): 68.

33. The second and third administration accounts indicate a significant number of large debts

had been paid. Included among these were $6,690.22 to the estate of Bernard J. Von Kapff and $3,000 to William G. Harrison. Numerous debts in the amount of one hundred to two hundred dollars were also paid, as well as smaller debts for services such as cleaning privies and making repairs.

34. Alfred J. Miller, Account Book, Walters Art Museum.
35. New York *Morning Herald,* May 16, 1839, p. 2, col. 3 and May 11, 1839; Ron Tyler, ed., Karen Dewees Reynolds and William R. Johnson, Catalogue Raisonne. *Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist on the Oregon Trail.* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1982), 37.
36. Miller, Account Book.
37. Alfred J. Miller died a wealthy man in 1874 with an estate valued at $118,301.24.

Fade to Gas: The Conversion of Baltimore's Mass Transit System from Streetcars to Diesel-Powered Buses

AARON MICHAEL GLAZER

In July 1940, Bancroft Hill made a $1.75 million dollar bet on the future of mass transit. Hill, then president of the Baltimore Transit Company (BTC), placed an order for an additional 108 streetcars, to run over the extensive rail lines already in place in Baltimore.[1] It was a formidable wager even for the BTC, as it was a time of extensive transition for the urban transit industry. Cities all over the United States were switching to either all-bus or to trackless trolley operations, and though Baltimore hedged its bets by ordering fifteen diesel-powered buses, the Baltimore Transit Company had made a firm decision to keep the majority of its transit operation on streetcar lines. The new additions were top-of-the-line PCC streamliner cars that provided riders with smooth rides, better lighting, and rubber cushioning. Throughout World War II, Hill's wager paid off greatly as the number of riders on BTC line skyrocketed. Yet by 1958 only two streetcar lines remained in Baltimore, and the cars that ran on those lines were rapidly wearing out. By 1963 the last of Hill's great streetcars were pulled out of service, and Baltimore joined the ranks of so many other American cities whose population was moved by gasoline-powered vehicles alone.[2]

Baltimore was not an isolated case—many cities saw the same gradual shift, and many arguments have been advanced to explain the fall of the streetcar. One standard line argues that independent conglomerates, dominated by petroleum, rubber, and automotive companies, bought out local transit firms and converted their streetcar lines to less efficient bus lines. Another places blame on the growth of city planners, who saw the streetcar as a hindrance to the free flow of traffic.[3] Not long after Hill's original commitment to streetcars, both these factors went to work on the streetcar system in Baltimore. National City Lines, Inc., a holding company whose owners included General Motors, Firestone Tire and Rubber, and Standard Oil, took control of the formerly independent Baltimore Transit Company. Baltimore City, meanwhile, began hiring traffic planners to help alleviate downtown congestion. Nevertheless, it is impossible to credit either group with the transition to buses. Baltimore approved the plans to exchange streetcars for

Aaron Michael Glazer graduated from the Johns Hopkins University in May 2002. *This paper won first prize in the Maryland Historical Society's Undergraduate Essay Contest.*

By the 1880s, Baltimore commuters traveled city streets in horse-drawn trolleys. (Maryland Historical Society.)

motor coaches too easily and too quickly for it to be solely a product of National City Lines' influence. Instead it arose out of a combination of things: the desire by city planners to clear congested downtown streets, financial incentives given to Baltimore City, and, of course, National City Lines' desire to use buses instead of streetcars any time it could.

Mass transit in Baltimore developed early in comparison with other cities.[4] Omnibuses began service from railroad stations to local hotels in the early 1840s. By 1859, Baltimore had an early form of local rail transport in the form of a horsecar line, an omnibus-type carriage pulled by a horse along specially cut grooves in the road. Public transportation continued to grow throughout the late nineteenth

The Lexington Street shopping district, c. 1880. (Maryland Historical Society.)

century. When Professor Leo Daft was commissioned to install the first commercial electric railway on the Baltimore and Hampden horsecar line in 1885, Baltimore was at the forefront of public transportation.[5] By that time streetcar lines ran throughout the city and all the way to Pikesville, Towson, and Woodlawn. The next two decades saw the arrival of cable and trolley cars. Around 1900, all private companies providing mass transit combined into one, United Railways and Electric. The 1900s saw still more growth.[6]

From 1910 to 1930 streetcars hit an enormous slump. The introduction of gasoline-powered automobiles significantly reduced transit riders. Independent operators introduced "jitneys," small buses that fought the rail lines for customers. Shortly after their introduction in February 1915 jitneys multiplied tenfold, and soon hundreds worked the city, stealing passengers otherwise likely to use streetcar lines. In the 1920s, widespread prosperity led more people to purchase private cars and rely less on mass transit. United Railways and Electric Company (UR&E), the main transit company in Baltimore, introduced gasoline-powered buses, further eroding streetcar ridership. By July 1922, UR&E's Charles Street bus line was so well used that it placed double-decker buses on the route to cope with the influx of passengers. Through the 1920s, the UR&E purchased new cars and made many attempts to revitalize the streetcar system, but the company itself was already in financial trouble. Despite its efforts to cut costs—and the beginning of the Depression, which greatly slowed automobile sales—beginning in July 1931 the company went into the red "with monotonous regularity, month after month." In 1932 it lost

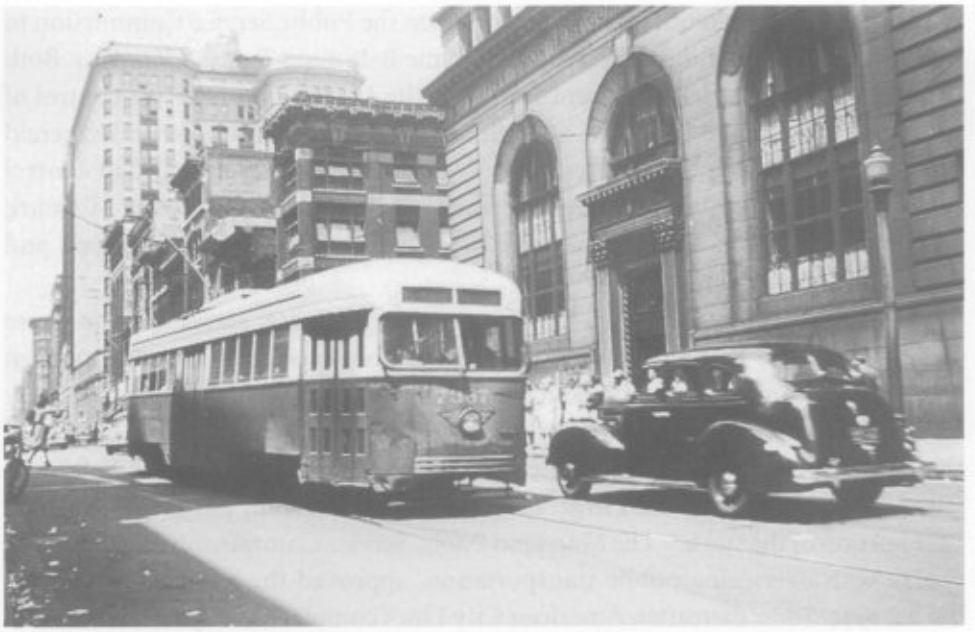
nearly $2 million and went bankrupt. UR&E emerged from receivership on July 9, 1935, as the Baltimore Transit Company (BTC). BTC arose with a $50 million capitalization, and bondholders, who had formerly expected fixed interest payments, had been converted to stockholders, whose dividends relied on the company's profitability.[7]

On solid financial ground, the reconstructed Baltimore Transit Company was in a strong position to regain control of the transit system with its streetcar lines. It introduced a new streetcar, the Presidents' Conference Committee (PCC) Car, the newest, cleanest, and most comfortable streetcar to date.[8] In addition, BTC began using trackless trolleys, electric streetcars that ran on wheels instead of tracks. Service improved significantly, and the number of transit riders grew. Some transition from streetcar lines to buses occurred, but the company generally stayed with streetcars. From 1935 to 1941, revenue passengers for the BTC rose from 121,436,000 to 142,892,000. Although the numbers did not return to their peak of 180,525,000 reached in 1930, the BTC made significant progress in regaining passengers and proving the viability of a mass transit system in Baltimore.[9]

Mass transit received its largest boost ever with the coming of World War II. Baltimore, a center of war production, greatly prospered during the war. By mid-1941, the State of Maryland had received over $1 billion in federal contracts, with much centered in Baltimore's industrial area. Fifty thousand people worked in defense plants, and a large portion of them rode the streetcar to work. Shortages in rubber and steel prevented severely hampered automobile production and made people more reliant on the transportation system. Gasoline and rubber restrictions also pulled buses off many routes, resulting in a higher dependence on streetcars.[10] In 1941 the BTC carried 164,592,000 passengers, by 1943 that number had risen to 271,842,000, an increase of 40 percent. In 1945, the year the war ended, it moved 263,573,000 revenue passengers. The war had increased transit use, and specifically, streetcar use.

During the war years, the BTC was in excellent financial shape. From 1941 to 1942, operating income rose 33 percent, from $1.5 million to just over $2 million. After interest was paid, the BTC netted $245,429 in 1941. By 1944, operating income was over $2 million for a net income of $1.2 million after interest paid; in 1945 net income reached $1.5 million, a rise of 29 percent from 1944 and 534 percent from 1941.[11] With the war, profits increased significantly, seemingly validating the importance of mass transit and portending an excellent future, provided the BTC could continue to draw customers after the war.

Bancroft Hill, a Baltimore native and president of the Baltimore Transit Company during the war, had been described upon his appointment as "a champion of the streetcar, urging its use instead of buses as the most economical and quickest transportation where traffic is dense." Hill "recognized the value of buses in some situations" and "whenever an extension of service is contemplated and the ex-



PCC streetcar number 6 on Baltimore Street, c. 1945. (courtesy Baltimore Transit Archives.)

pected patronage is not enough to justify the laying of track and erection of wires, he has favored bus service." Hill placed an order in 1940 for 108 new streamlined streetcars and fifteen new buses, showing that while he was willing to use buses, the BTC strategy was heavily tilted in favor of the streetcar. After the war, street railways "having done an excellent job under extreme wartime handicaps, remained the most important factor in the public transportation picture." Though "some lines had been turned over to trackless trolleys and others to buses, the total trackage figure in 1945 was about three-quarters of the 400 odd miles that have been in operation [in 1899]."[12]

Bancroft Hill's thinking seems to represent the natural progression of streetcars. Although their removal had begun as early as 1935, and in 1942 the No. 23 Back River Rail Line was replaced with a bus line,[13] they still served a vital purpose for the Baltimore Transit Company, running on a vast majority of the routes.

In 1944 a subsidiary of National City Lines, Inc., purchased 30 percent of the stock of the Baltimore Transit Company and gained control of the system. American City Lines (ACL) was a holding company, owned by National City Lines (NCL) as well as General Motors, Standard Federal Engineering Corporation (a subsidiary of Standard Oil Company), Firestone Tire and Rubber Corporation, and Mack Manufacturing Company. The "supply" companies owned approximately 25 percent of ACL stock; the remainder was controlled by NCL. Those companies also owned a controlling interest in National City Lines, Inc. On August 24, 1944,

American City Lines requested permission from the Public Service Commission to purchase 11 percent of the preferred stock of the Baltimore Transit Company. Both American City Lines and its parent National City Lines were under the control of E. Roy Fitzgerald, the president of both corporations, and two other Fitzgerald brothers, Ed and Ralph, vice-presidents. National City Lines already had control of a number of local bus and streetcar lines in cities such as St. Louis, Missouri; Jacksonville, Florida; Tulsa, Oklahoma; El Paso, Texas; Jackson, Mississippi; and Kalamazoo, Michigan.[14]

On September 15, American City Lines upped the ante, agreeing to purchase 30 percent of the Baltimore Transit Company. Unbeknownst to most, American City Lines had already purchased a significant portion of BTC through a newly formed subsidiary called Baltimore City Lines, which now controlled 10 percent of the BTC. American City Lines wanted to purchase the stocks from the Baltimore City Lines and also from the Fitzgeralds, who had individually purchased a significant portion of the stock.[15] The Maryland Public Service Commission, a state agency charge with overseeing public transportation, approved the request on September 22, 1944. Soon thereafter, American City Lines completed the purchase and the transformation of the Baltimore Transit Company was underway.

National City Lines, and, by nature, American City Lines, had a reputation for being "bus-oriented." A week before the PSC approved the request, a *Baltimore Sun* article characterized the relationship between National City Lines and various companies: "It was further learned here that nearly half of National City Lines' own stock is owned by the Yellow Truck and Coach Manufacturing Company (a subsidiary of General Motors, Inc.); Mack Trucks, Inc.; the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company; and the Phillips Petroleum Company." When E. Roy Fitzgerald testified in front of the Public Service Commission, requesting approval, "he said the suppliers . . . hold about 25 percent" of American City Lines.[16] According to later court records, Fitzgerald related the stock figures accurately but neglected to mention the contracts most of NCL's operating companies had with the supplier companies. The *Evening Sun* realized what had been omitted and ran a clarifying editorial. "They also have an agreement with National City Lines, the parent company, under which the latter is required to buy most of its buses, tires and trucks from the manufacturing companies. . . . It has also been reported that it is a practice of the American City Lines to substitute buses for trolley service." The *Sun* then ran a series of stories chronicling National City Lines' takeover of the St. Louis transit system. The paper reported that since the acquisition a former Mack Truck manager had been made president, and E. Roy Fitzgerald had been named to the board. It continued, "National City is also credited with the recent modernization of most of the company's properties and the construction of a new, large bus garage."[17] Without a doubt, National City Lines was oriented toward busing. The building of a bus garage and the lack of improvement in the working of streetcars reinforced this idea.

The National City Lines purchase engendered additional fears among citizens dealing with the financial situation of the Baltimore Transit Company. On September 12, 1944, the *Sun* published an except from a letter by local attorney Louis P. Bolgiano. "It seems to me that the present management has given very good service to the city at minimum expenditures of salaries, wages, etc., and has kept its employe[e]s satisfied and courteous to the public. The present management has also given exceptionally good service throughout the war period and have placed the company in a position in which they have a large surplus on hand that can be expended."[18] It was the surplus that greatly concerned the public, who were opposed to the purchase. If the American Transit Company increased its holdings, they would be in a position to declare the dividend and to give out the entire $6,044,660.68, which was presently reserved for repairs and future purchases.[19] Citizens had reason to be concerned, the *Sun* reported. "Mr. Fitzgerald said he believes that earnings will permit a dividend in the future. He pointed out that although maintenance and equipment reserves put aside now are large, there will be no need for such large reserves after the war and surplus funds can be used for dividend purposes."[20] While Fitzgerald was unwilling to say so, he hoped to greatly increase profits in order to get a larger return on his investment.

On the surface there was little shift in the Baltimore Transit Company after the purchase by American City Lines until several months had passed. On April 26, 1945, at the annual stockholders meeting, E. Roy Fitzgerald was elected to the board, joining C. Frank Reavis, counsel for American and National City Lines, who had been elected some months earlier. Hill was reconfirmed as president.[21] It seemed that the Baltimore Transit Company would continue as before.

But only two months later, in June 1945, the BTC had a new president. Fred A. Nolan, an American City Lines employee replaced Bancroft Hill, whose term would expire on July 1. Nolan had been head of the Los Angeles transit system, which the Fitzgeralds had recently acquired. Harry S. Sherwood, an editorial writer for the *Evening Sun* marked it as "an increase in the power of the Fitzgerald brothers and the American City Lines in the company management."[22] Although the ACL originally had expressed no interest in being involved with local management, it had now installed its own director as president of the company. The severity of this action indicated that not only were the ACL's pronouncements not to be trusted, but that it also had a plan for where it wanted to take the Baltimore Transit Company.

Seemingly ready to continue improving the transit system, American City Lines petitioned on September 14, 1945, to purchase more holdings in the Baltimore Transit Company, and in doing so invoked the ire of a number of Baltimore residents.[23] On November 7, a group of concerned citizens, under the name "Transit—A Baltimore Committee," filed a petition to stop the American City Lines' acquisition of more shares. The committee called the American City Lines "harmful to the public interest" and called for an investigation into three areas: instabil-

ity and public unrest due to the ACL administration; ACL's lack of experience in operating urban transit systems in peacetime; and the affiliation between ACL and supplier companies.[24] Although it is unclear who the members of the committee were, their criticism reflects an underlying unhappiness with ACL/NCL in Baltimore. The committee would have had difficulty in proving its first and second claims, as Baltimore had experienced little, if any, public unrest and NCL had had experience dealing with large transit systems in St. Louis and Los Angeles. The third sensitive area had not yet become reality in Baltimore, for the NCL had yet to employ its position to purchase goods from the supplier corporations. Nor had Baltimore had time to examine the leadership of the NCL, as Nolan had been in control for only four months, not enough time for anyone to notice a shift between local BTC management and NCL management. The discontent instead reflected a larger uncertainty regarding the future of the transit system in view of NCL's rapid shift in attitude and over introduction of a plan to convert a large number of streetcars into motor buses. The request to purchase additional shares was denied, and ACL retained its 30 percent of the stock. In 1946 the American City Lines officially merged into its parent company, National City Lines.

In 1946, the Baltimore Transit Company, under the control of National City Lines' Fred Nolan, presented its plan to change the majority of Baltimore's remaining streetcar lines into motor buses. Conversion called for rapid removal of more than half the streetcar lines in the city, and eventually complete dismantling of the streetcar system.[25] By way of City Ordinance 393 in 1946, the Baltimore City Commission granted its approval. The ordinance had two major provisions. First, it supported the proposed conversion plan. "The Company will with reasonable diligence and as . . . soon as necessary equipment can be obtained therefore proceed to carry into effect its Conversion Program substantially as sent for in its plan dated November 1, 1945, providing for the conversion from streetcar operations to free-wheel operation of approximately 58% of the Company's single track streetcar mileage." Second, the city procured money it felt it was due. For many years, the city had believed it was being cheated out of taxes owed by the Baltimore Transit Company and had gone so far as to file a suit to claim them. The legislation finally settled that dispute. The Baltimore Transit Company agreed to pay the city $2,500,000 immediately, and to pay a 2 percent tax on the gross revenues from motor buses.[26] Two million dollars of the settlement was allocated to paving over streetcar tracks, and the remaining $500,000 was to settle the city's claim that the BTC had underpaid its taxes. Before this ordinance, buses in the city had been nearly tax free, and the city had lost substantial revenues. After the city council approved the plan seven to one with one abstention,[27] the conversion plan still required the approval of the Public Service Commission, which was to examine it in April 1946.

Before the conversion plan could reach the Public Service Commission, a court

case was filed in an effort to stop it. The Republican City Committee chairman, Paul Robertson (who was at the time running for public office), claimed the ordinance "unlawfully undertakes to impose a tax without authority of law." A week earlier, before the ordinance had passed, he had filed a complaint requesting the city be restrained from entering into an agreement in relation to the conversion plan. He claimed that the settlement would cost the city more than $32 million.[28] Although the suit was dismissed, Robertson's case did reflect popular opposition on the issue. Hoping to garner votes for an upcoming election of the House of Representatives, Robertson was looking for an issue to attract public support, and he accurately sensed discontent among citizens, both for the conversion plan and the monetary dealings that came with it.

The Maryland Public Service Commission, following hearings to determine the feasibility and desirability of the BTC's conversion plan, accepted it on Wednesday, October 10, 1946. The PSC approved nearly the entire proposal (it did not allow the Sparrows Point and Gay Street lines to convert to motor buses), thus beginning the end of streetcars in Baltimore. The conversion plan projected the change of nearly every downtown corridor from streetcars to motor buses. Some outlying trolley tracks remained, and streetcars were permitted to run on Guilford Avenue and Lombard Street in downtown.[29] Now, the Baltimore Transit Company simply required the arrival of the motor buses it had on order, and the conversion could get underway.

On June 22, 1947, the conversion plan swung into full force. Three streetcar lines were removed and service on at least three others was significantly reduced. In 1948 all the streetcars were removed from a main thoroughfare, West Baltimore Street, along with seven other lines. The firm removed one line and truncated another in 1949, and 1950 saw the transition of five lines from streetcars and the cutting of one more. In 1952 four more lines were removed, followed by an additional three in 1954. By 1958 only two streetcar lines remained. Throughout this period, the number of transit riders decreased exponentially. In 1947, 248,554,000 revenue passengers traveled on BTC lines; in 1954 the number had fallen to 140,479,000, at a time when the city population was increasing.[30] Those streetcars that remained were in horrible condition. The outsides were covered with dents and painted orange-yellow. Inside, "some windows could not be raised; others rattled in their frames; bell ropes were broken; in many places, the rubber flooring had worked loose, rising in humps; there was usually a gap of several inches between the sets of doors at front and center, letting in the wintry air; and some of the roofs leaked."[31] November 3, 1963, marked the final day of streetcar service in Baltimore. The Baltimore Transit Company had succeeded in converting its transit system from streetcars to the inherently inferior motor bus system.

To claim that National City Lines, Inc., came to Baltimore with the intention of dismantling the streetcars to replace them with inferior buses first supposes that

The number 13 streetcar at North Avenue and St. Paul Street opposite the Centre Theater c. 1944. (Courtesy Baltimore Transit Archives.)

motor buses are inferior. A number of examples demonstrate this to be so. First, Baltimore City itself has after a fashion returned to streetcars with the light rail system it introduced and is in the process of expanding. Light rail systems are, in essence, streetcar systems, although they usually employ platforms for loading and unloading. Melbourne, Australia; Cologne, Germany; and Bristol, Great Britain still run streetcar systems successfully. Much of Boston's green-line rail operates as a streetcar system. In addition to modern-day examples of successful streetcar systems, it should be recognized that buses themselves were flawed. One historian, David St. Clair, analyzed data from 1935 to 1950 and determined "the streetcar was more economical than the motor bus, at least on the more heavily patronized lines."[32]

Representatives for both the city and National City Lines frequently argued that buses were, overall, less expensive to maintain and purchase. That argument did not hold up in Baltimore, as became readily apparent by 1949. There were substantial increases in the cost of maintenance, leading one stockholder attending the 1949 stockholders' meeting to ask, "When buses were first discussed we were told that maintenance would go down, but the cost has gone up. Why?" The president replied "that the company had to make improvements in its road beds, that

rolling stock needed maintenance and that the same thing applied to some buses." When asked whether a reduction in maintenance costs could be expected, "Mr. Haneke said he thought that the cost would remain at the present level."[33] Maintenance expenses for the transit company were on the rise, even though ridership was on the wane, prompting cuts in both streetcar and bus routes. Bus advocates also argued that buses were less expensive to purchase. While that was indeed the case, buses only lasted, on average, eight years in Baltimore City, compared with the thirty to thirty-five-year life span of each streetcar. Moreover, they were significantly less efficient. Seattle transportation engineer E. E. Van Ness noted that, "The internal combustion bus, partly due to its many points of wear, has very poor efficiency: about 10 percent at the wheels. The electric trackless trolley, on the other hand, has a wheel efficiency of about 83 percent."[34] Finally, buses were originally untaxed by the city of Baltimore, making them less costly to run than streetcars. The city council rectified that with the conversion plan. Economically, buses turned out to be a poor investment for the Baltimore Transit Company.

The largest benefit, according to both the BTC and the City of Baltimore, was the decongestion of city streets. The BTC argued that removing streetcars to allow one-way streets and reduce obstacles for automobiles would improve the speed of mass transit and encourage riders. Upon the approval of the conversion plan, Nolan claimed:

> Our own company also has cause for rejoicing because our only hope for making our service sufficiently attractive to meet automobile competition lies in relief from traffic congestion. Good transit services can contribute greatly to the solution of the traffic problem in Baltimore, if it can attract passengers. But a transit system which just crawls cannot attract passengers, and, hence, cannot do the job it ought to do and can do if it has a chance.[35]

But in 1946, when experimental bus lines were put in place, congestion was not relieved. "Buses and taxicabs continue to slow the flow of automotive movement by failing to draw to curbs to take on and drop passengers," said one newspaper article. In 1952 when Douglass Pratt, another NCL employee, took over as president, he listed as one of the four greatest problems facing the transit company the congestion of downtown streets.[36] Traffic congestion was still holding up buses in 1957. In response to questions regarding poor service, an *Evening Sun* article cited the standard response from the BTC to bus delays as "at peak hours, the bus has been held up in traffic congestion."[37] The great decongesting of downtown Baltimore never occurred. Buses were unable to fulfill that promise. Baltimore easily could have sustained the streetcar system it once had, especially had it followed the advice put forth by Bancroft Hill that streetcars used in tandem with motor buses would improve both systems.

Since it is likely that Baltimore's streetcars could have remained viable, National City Lines, Inc. must have had an incentive behind its conversion plan. On the surface, NCL represented conversion as a benefit to its customers, because it would reduce street congestion, provide more flexibility, and be less costly. In the Baltimore Transit Company's annual report for 1945, Fred Nolan set out the objectives of the plan:

> That the overall traveling time of public transit passengers should be reduced to a minimum; that public transit lines should be located as to provide the most convenient access to all parts of the area and still make economically frequent intervals on each route; (and) the planned transit system should furnish service with the particular type of vehicle which will provide the highest quality of service at the lowest cost.[38]

It was designed to encourage more people to take mass transit, to keep the number of revenue passengers high permit the BTC to remain profitable. In November 1945, when Nolan proposed the conversion plan, it did not make economic sense to move to buses. That year the Baltimore Transit System netted more than $1.5 million, and in 1946, when the Public Service Commission and the Baltimore City Commission approved the conversion plan, it earned over $1.2 million.[39] The number of revenue passengers hit a high, with 263,573,000 in 1945 and dropped only slightly to 262,256,000 in 1946. Even following the end of the war, with the beginning of mass-layoffs in Baltimore and the end of gasoline quotas, mass transit maintained the levels it had during the war. More than 245 million people rode the mass transit system in 1947 and 1948. Before the war, the Baltimore Transit Company had attracted, at most, 164 million riders.[40] These are not the figures of a transit company desperately seeking to salvage itself.

If ridership was not in decline, what about the matter of congestion in downtown streets? The answer is that, in general, the Baltimore Transit Company seems to have kept its customers happy. By 1946 traffic congestion in downtown had become a problem. The *Sun* observed, "Traffic congestion is going to get increasingly worse . . . until we have in actual operation regulations that will give us better use of the streets . . . and adequate places to park when we wish to do business, shop, or attend some place of amusement."[41] The paper did not address a lack of transit service, as it would begin to do in the 1950s. It was concerned only with traffic congestion. In all likelihood, the Baltimore Transit Company itself was not much concerned with congestion either, but it made use of the city's desire to free more driving space to implement the original plan of the National City Lines and convert the streetcar system to buses.

Baltimore, as it did in all the cities in which it purchased transit companies, with the intention of converting the streetcar line to an entirely motor bus-based

system. Bancroft Hill, who was always portrayed as a moderate in terms of converting the city, hardly would have proposed a plan that would result in the elimination of streetcars entirely. Also, Fred Nolan had no time between his election in July and the proposed plan, which emerged in November, to undertake an analysis of Baltimore's transit system and determine what type of vehicle was preferable for which line. Instead, Nolan used the fact that Baltimore City wanted to end congestion to further his company's original plans, converting the system to one of motor coaches furnished by his "supplier" companies, who owned a portion of its stock.

Although E. Roy Fitzgerald testified at the original Public Service Commission hearings that "his sole interest in acquiring B.T.C. stock is to help this city in its transit problems," and denied "that he is bus-minded," National City Lines' primary interest in Baltimore City was to convert the existing streetcar transit system. During those hearings, he denied any special advantage to the parent companies, saying that National City Lines and its subsidiaries bought supplies at the lowest competitive price, and that his company employed the type of vehicle most satisfactory for the job.[42] Yet that is exactly what he and his company did not do. Before leaving, Bancroft Hill ordered one hundred new Ford buses for the lines that were being converted to buses. Upon the Public Service Commission's approval of the conversion plan, newly installed President Nolan announced that he had received National City Lines' authority to receive priority on two hundred buses that the company had on order for its western division—two hundred buses from General Motors Corporation. "Mr. Nolan also sent off an order for 400 new buses to General Motors Corporation," wrote the *Baltimore Sun*.[43] There are no reasons given for the switch to GM buses. The move was especially unusual in light of the expected arrival of the sixty-five remaining Ford buses from the order placed by Hill. Contrary to his statements to the Public Service Commission, Nolan no longer selected the best vehicle for the job. He selected the best vehicle with which to replace streetcars and simultaneously fulfilled his real purpose—funneling orders to the larger supplier companies.

There is evidence that in addition to the General Motors purchase, the Baltimore Transit Company entered into an agreement with Firestone Tire & Rubber Company. In 1951, the "Commission to Study and Report on the Transportation System Operated by the Baltimore Transit Company" submitted its report on the status of the company. In that document, one commissioner dissented from the overall report. As part of his separate report, Commissioner Herbert Levy included the following information:

> After the National City Lines acquired effective control of the Transit Company, it terminated its contract with the United States Rubber Company and entered into a new contract with the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. . . . According to the uncontradicted testimony of Mr. A. Earle Courts, who was

> purchasing agent when the substitution was made, the United States Rubber Company had been furnishing excellent service under its contract, under the circumstances then existing, and there was no reason for the substitution.

Fred Nolan submitted a contract with the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. Upon analyzing the contract, A. Earle Courts determined that there would be a $28,000 savings with Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. No opportunity was given to United States Rubber Company to produce a competitive bid, which according to Courts, might very well have made a bid that could have saved more than $28,000 per year—saved using Firestone. The report concludes that while in previous administrations, Courts had been given a large measure of autonomy in deciding contracts, Nolan personally dictated what contracts were to be made.[44] In this case, Nolan determined that a contract with the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company was in the interest of the Baltimore Transit Company, although he had little solid evidence to support his decision. By 1949 stockholders, too, were expressing concern. An April 14, 1949, *Sun* article covered the annual stockholders meeting, where stockholder Joseph V. Manganaro stated, "It is the fear of the minority stockholders that the company's first interest is to create buying orders for equipment and buses. A company can be milked that way."[45] The Baltimore Transit Company was indeed being milked, its reserves spent to purchase new buses and replace the functional existing system.

In 1947, in a criminal case entitled *The United States of America v. National City Lines, et al.*, the Justice Department brought suit against National City Lines and its various supplier stockholding companies, charging them with violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The court determined that Federal Engineering Corporation (a subsidiary of Standard Oil), General Motors Corporation, Phillips Petroleum Company, Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, and Mack Manufacturing Company had all bought stock in NCL. "The operating companies of the defendants . . . use large quantities of buses, tires, tubes, and petroleum products, which are manufactures and handled by the supplier defendants, such as Phillips, Standard, General Motors, Mack, and Firestone." The government's case argued that from January 1, 1937, onward, the defendants "engaged in an unlawful combination and conspiracy to acquire ownership . . . in a substantial part of local transit companies . . . and to restrain and to monopolize the aforesaid interstate commerce in motor buses, petroleum products, tires, and tubes sold to local transportation companies in cities, counties and towns in which National, American, and Pacific have ownership, control of a substantial financial interest." The government further argued that the defendants had violated Sections 1 and 2 of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

> Supplier defendants have furnished money and capital to National, Ameri-

> can and Pacific who have, in turn, caused their operating companies to purchase practically all their requirements in tires, tubes, petroleum products and buses from the supplier defendants to the exclusion of products competitive with them. . . . National City Lines, American City Lines, and Pacific City Lines would not renew contracts with others for purchase or rental of materials and equipment without the consent of the supplier defendants.[46]

What happened in Baltimore occurred throughout the country, and the federal government had taken notice. NCL and the various companies were sued in both civil and criminal court in an attempt to rectify the damage the companies had caused to local mass transit.

On April 9, 1949, the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois indicted the defendants on a change of conspiring to monopolize "the sale of buses, petroleum products, tires and tubes used by local transportation systems in those cities in which defendants National, American, and Pacific owned, controlled, or had a substantial financial interest in," in violation of Section 2 of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Each corporation was fined five thousand dollars, and each individual one dollar. E. Roy Fitzgerald, president of the National City Lines and a board member of the Baltimore Transit Company, was indicted, along with individual representatives of the various companies. The district court decision showed that National City Lines had been conspiring with the suppliers to guarantee that only they supplied the materials. "In return for . . . investments, the supplier defendants received supply contracts which obligated the City Lines defendants and their existing and future subsidiary operating companies to obtain substantially all of their requirements of motor buses from General Motors and Mack, their requirements of petroleum products from Phillips and Standard, and their requirements of tires and tubes from Firestone." General Motors obtained a contract requiring National & Pacific to buy 85 percent of their new buses from GM for companies they had owned in 1939, and 41.5 percent from companies acquired in the future. GM sold its investments in NCL in 1949 and their contracts were canceled upon the conviction in 1949. By that year, all the companies with the exception of Firestone had divested themselves from National City Lines.[47]

Baltimore Transit Company never appears in the records for the civil or criminal cases. In 1954, the NCL conceded and made an agreement with the U.S. government in the civil case, listing all the companies that could do business with the "supplier" companies in the future. Thirty-five separate companies were listed, but the Baltimore Transit Company was not among them. It is never cited, nor are any specific restrictions applied to it. Part of this may result from the fact that NCL only owned 30 percent of it.[48] From 1954 on, National City Lines was restricted from entering into contractual agreements such as it previously had with the supplier defendants, but in Baltimore the damage had been done. Four hundred Gen-

Brill bus on the number 20 line, Baltimore and Calvert Streets, c. 1960. (Courtesy Baltimore Transit Archives.)

eral Motors buses were on the streets and Firestone Tire & Rubber Company had been given a contract without competitive bidding.

National City Lines was never found guilty of conspiring to purchase transit systems with the intent of converting them to motor bus lines in a court of law, as representatives for General Motors frequently point out. However, Bradford Snell, assistant counsel for the Senate Anti-trust Subcommittee, produced a report analyzing the transit system. Presented in 1974, the report, entitled *American Ground Transportation*, noted that in 1932 General Motors formed a holding company known as the United Cities Motor Transit, whose function "was to acquire electric streetcar companies, convert them to GM motor bus operation, and then resell the properties to local concerns which agreed to purchase GM bus replacements." Although the company stopped its actions in 1935 as a result of pressure from the American Transit Association, Snell argues that in 1936 GM organized National City Lines to the same end. "The method was basically the same as that which GM employed successfully (previously): acquisition, motorization, and resale." He takes the argument one step further, saying that GM deliberately designed a bus that would discourage ridership. "GM's dieselization program may have had the long-term effect of selling GM cars," he writes. Snell argued that General Motors was the driving force behind National City Lines' removal of streetcar systems.[49]

There is some reason to question Snell's argument. First, unlike the United States in the 1949 court case, Snell did not have to prove that the various companies, and specifically General Motors, employed such techniques. Much of his argument is based on the testimony of officials with less hard evidence to back up such an extreme accusation. Finally, some of the data he uses are incorrect: the monetary figures he gave are skewed, according to both General Motors and the court cases. Nevertheless, Snell's arguments do have some validity, especially in relation to GM's use of National City Lines as an organizing force to convert streetcars to bus systems. His evidence, especially that with regard to General Motors' earlier endeavors to accomplish similar results, seems to prove what the court cases could not, that General Motors and other supplier defendants set out to purchase and eliminate streetcar systems in local transit companies.

General Motors still stands by its argument that, although it was found guilty, in reality there was no conspiracy to acquire transit companies and convert them to buses. A letter written to the *Legal Times* responded to an article citing the National City Lines case. The author was a former member of General Motors' legal staff, and part of his duties entailed drafting letters "that tried to set the record straight." He argued that rail-based transit enterprises began failing as early as World War I, and "the conversion to demonstrably cheaper and more flexible use transportation began at that time, long before General Motors had anything to do with the bus business, and the conversion continued thereafter throughout the country for purely economical reasons." He presented the same argument refuted earlier, that buses were cheaper to operate, more reliable, and safer, and therefore streetcars were stepping into oblivion on their own accord.[50] At least in Baltimore, these facts were not the case. Although the transit system failed in the early 1930s, by the mid-1940s it was achieving new heights, breaking records, and staying well above its passenger numbers set prior to World War II. The motivation for National City Lines conversion of the Baltimore streetcar system could not have been one of transit economics, because the system was doing well.

While National City Lines may have come to Baltimore originally with the purpose of converting the streetcar system to buses, it could not have accomplished the task without the cooperation, and even encouragement, of the Baltimore City Council. The city administration approved the legislation and passed it on to the Public Service Commission with at least an implied recommendation that they allow it. The city engineer actually helped draft the plan. Although he was working with a different purpose than the National City Lines officials, he, too, wanted to remove streetcar lines, although for a different reason.

Henry Barnes was a traffic expert from Denver hired as a city engineer. Barnes's purpose in coming to Baltimore was to reduce the traffic congestion that plagued downtown. His solution was to turn a number of downtown streets into one-way thoroughfares. Streetcars were an impediment to his project. "Barnes is quoted as

saying that the only thing which he had against streetcars was that they traveled in the streets." Barnes and other city engineers argued that streetcars ran directly down the middle of the roads, blocking valuable space and increasing congestion as they stopped to pick up passengers.[51] City administrators backed him. In the previously mentioned legal case to stop the conversion plan, the city solicitor detailed the advantages of converting to buses:

> Adoption of buses will ease congestion and enable designation of various traffic arteries as one-way streets; operation of trolley lines on many city streets precludes their being designated as one-way streets. The capital investment to reroute and re-layout of trolley tracks to fit into a one-way street scheme makes such a plan impractical; general widening of existing streets is economically unfeasible; development of subways is too costly.[52]

It was not possible to turn a road with a streetcar into a one-way street, as most lines ran both ways, and the expense behind a mass conversion would have been phenomenal. As early as 1935, Baltimore City was proposing the rerouting and elimination of trolleys to ease congestion. A report to the Baltimore Traffic Committee submitted in August 1935, suggested the elimination of streetcar operation on Charles, Calvert, East Fayette, and Hanover Streets to ease backup and traffic congestion. A 1939 BTC pamphlet explained that "In order to cooperate with the plans of the City Traffic committee and with the approval of the PSC, several transit lines will be rerouted to facilitate the movement of free-wheel vehicles in congested areas." When the final opportunity to create one-way streets and reduce congestion arose, the city obliged and aided the proposal, thinking it could ease the congestion of downtown and encourage more economic endeavors without having to make much investment on its own.[53]

Finally, there was a monetary incentive behind the city's acceptance of the Baltimore Transit Company's conversion plan. Although the plan had originally been submitted in November 1945, the city had opposed it on the grounds that the Baltimore Transit Company had been paying insufficient taxes and that city regulators had no tax authority over the buses used. In 1944 the city council heard a proposal to foreclose on the Baltimore Transit Company if it did not collect the back taxes it was owed.[54] It finally worked out the agreement in order to side-step the problem and the pending court case, by arranging for the city to receive $2.65 million from the Baltimore Transit Company. Half a million dollars of that was earmarked for back taxes, $150,000 for taxes for the following two years, and $2 million for the cost of replacing the streets after the conversion plan. For Baltimore City, the conversion plan was an opportunity to force the BTC into an agreement on its taxes. In the agreement, it levied a 2 percent tax on all future gross receipts from buses. It brought BTC company attorney Harry Baetjer to the coun-

cil to guarantee that the future taxes would be paid. "The company," said Baetjer, "will not contest the two percent tax. We understand that it is a minimum tax and is in addition to any tax that must be levied against the company."[55] For city commissioners, the conversion plan guaranteed a new source of income for the city. They were benefiting economically as well as easing the congestion downtown and so wholeheartedly approved of the conversion plan.

The conversion plan to change the Baltimore Transit Company from streetcars into an entirely motor bus–based system resulted mainly from ties between National City Lines and various suppliers companies but would not have succeeded without the support of the Baltimore City Commission and the city engineers. Baltimore, as did many other cities throughout the country, lost its streetcars to a combination of capitalism and the dream of an improved city. Unfortunately replacing streetcars had only negative effects on the city. Congestion did not improve significantly as hoped, and with buses on nearly every line the Baltimore Transit Company fell into oblivion, losing more and more riders each year until it finally sold out to the municipality. A 1955 report to the mayor of Baltimore presented the status of transportation:

> The present policy of the City appears to be directed more towards the encouragement of the automobile movement rather than towards the establishment of a balanced transportation program. Both City agencies and the Baltimore Transit Company must share the blame for this situation. The City, through decentralization of responsibilities and the absence of any effective means of control, has failed to incorporate the mass transit system into he total organization for transportation. The Company has failed to press for recognition of its vital role, and, judging by past performance, lacks the imagination and motivation to do so.[56]

With the loss of its streetcar system, the Baltimore Transit Company had lost its ability to provide adequate—not to mention exceptional—service for the city of Baltimore.

NOTES

1. "Baltimore Transit Company," *Baltimore Sun*, July 28, 1940.
2. Michael R. Farrell, *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go?: The Story of Mass Transit in Baltimore* (Baltimore: Baltimore NRHS Publications, 1973), 171.
3. There is an extensive historical debate over the demise of urban streetcar lines, spawned mostly by Bradford Snell's report to the U.S. Senate in 1974, entitled "American Ground Transport," in which he argued that outside forces purchased local transportation companies and systematically dismantled their streetcar systems, replacing them with less effective motor buses. For a more recent view of this argument, see Stanley I. Fischler, *Moving Millions: An*

Inside Look at Mass Transit (New York: Harper & Row, 1979). An opposing view is presented by Mark Foster in *From Streetcar to Superhighway: American City Planners and Urban Transportation, 1900–1940*. Foster places blame upon the professionals who planned city growth.

4. All information on the origin of mass transportation is taken from Fischler, *Moving Millions*.
5. Ibid., 24.
6. All information on the origin of Baltimore City public transportation is from Baltimore Transit Archives, http://transarc.bluemoon.net/, November 22, 1999.
7. Farrell, *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go?*, 123, 125, 143, 147.
8. Ibid., 149.
9. Annual revenue Passenger statistics from Baltimore Transit Company, cited in Abel Wolman, et al., *Report to the Mayor of Baltimore by the Committee on Mass Transportation* (Baltimore, December 1955), 6.
10. Baltimore Transit Company annual reports, 1941–45. By order of the Office of Defense transportation, they discontinued or cut nine bus lines in 1941; similar orders were in effect for the remaining war years.
11. Baltimore Transit Company Annual Reports for 1942 and 1945.
12. "Stores Quits Transit Post, Hill Gets Job," *Baltimore Sun*, February 14, 1936; "Transit Firm Plans 2 Million in Improvements: Buys 108 New Streamlined Trolleys and 15 New Buses," *Evening Sun*, July 2, 1940; Farrell, *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go?*, 164.
13. Baltimore Transit Company pamphlet, February 11, 1942.
14. "Chicago Firm Would Acquire Transit Stock," *Baltimore Sun*, August 25, 1944.
15. "Holding Firm Agrees to 30% Stock Limit," ibid., September 15, 1944.
16. "St. Louis Streetcars Make Profit for Holding Company," *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1944; "Holding Firm Agrees to 30% Stock Limit," ibid., September 15, 1944.
17. "The Transit Company Case," *Evening Sun*, September 14, 1944; "St. Louis Streetcars Make Profit for Holding Company," *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1944.
18. "Bolgiano Backs BTC Trustees," *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1944.
19. "B.T.C. Moves to Safeguard Reserve Fund," ibid.
20. "Holding Firm Agrees to 30% Stock Limit," ibid., September 15, 1944.
21. "Head of City Lines Put on B.T.C. Board," ibid., April 25, 1945; "B.T.C. Board Re-Elects Hill as President," ibid., May 11, 1945.
22. "New Baltimore Transit Chief Takes Office Next Week," ibid., June 29, 1945; "Nolan's Election Marks Power Shift in B.T.C.," *Evening Sun*, June 13, 1945.
23. "A.C.L. Seeks to Enlarge Its B.T.C. Holdings," *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1945.
24. "End Asked of New Interest in B.T.C.," ibid., November 7, 1945.
25. "Route Changes and New Services in Transit Programs," ibid., October 10, 1946.
26. Baltimore City Ordinance #393, 1946.
27. "Council O.K.'s Transit Bill," *Baltimore Sun*, May 16, 1946; "Final Action the B.T.C. Due," ibid., May 14, 1946. The one abstention was from a councilman who was a consulting engineer for the transit company.
28. "Court to Get B.T.C. Plan," ibid., May 22, 1946. "Dismisses Transit Suit By Robertson," ibid., May 29, 1946.
29. "Shift Awaits Bus Delivery," ibid., October 10, 1946; "Route Changes and New Services in Transit Program," ibid., October 10, 1946.
30. Dismantling data from Farrell, *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go?*, 166; Wolman, et al., *Report to the Mayor*, 6.
31. Farrell, *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go?*, 171.

32. David J. St. Clair, *Motorization of American Cities* (New York: Praeger, 1986) cited in Zachary Schrag, "The Bus is Young and Honest: Transportation Politics, Technical Choice, and the Motorization of Manhattan Surface Transit, 1919–1936," *Technology and Culture*, 41 (2000): 51–70.
33. "Transit Board Is Re-Elected," *Baltimore Sun*, April 14, 1949.
34. "Baltimore Transit Company," ibid., July 28, 1946; Van Ness, cited in Fischler, *Moving Millions*, 80.
35. "Shift Awaits Bus Delivery," *Baltimore Sun*, October 10, 1946.
36. "Good—Bad Found in B.T.C. Shifts," ibid., May 21, 1946; "Californian to Be Back As B.T.C. Head," ibid., February 15, 1952.
37. "Transit Down 40 P C Since '48," *Evening Sun*, January 7, 1957.
38. Baltimore Transit Company Annual Report, 1945, 4.
39. Baltimore Transit Company Annual Reports, 1945 and 1946.
40. All revenues passenger figures from the Baltimore Transit Company records cited in Wolman, et al., *Report to the Mayor*, 6.
41. "Improved Traffic Conditions Are Not Around the Corner," *Baltimore Sun*, October 11, 1946.
42. "Holding Firm Agrees to 30% Stock Limit," ibid., September 15, 1944.
43. "Transit Shift Dependent on Bus Delivery," ibid., October 10, 1946.
44. Quotes and information from Maryland Commission to Study and Report on the Transportation System Operated by the Baltimore Transit Company, "Report of the Majority and Separate Report of Commissioner Herbert Levy," February 1, 1952, 68–69.
45. Manganaro cited in "Transit Board Is Re-Elected," *Baltimore Sun*, April 14, 1949.
46. Quotes and information from *United States v. National City Lines, et al. Civil Action 6747.* (7 F.R.D. 456; 1947 U.S. Dist LEXIS 1702). September 29, 1947. This is the parallel civil action; both were filed simultaneously with the same complaints.
47. *United States v. National City Lines, et al.* No 49. C 1364 (134 F Supp. 350; 1955 U.S. Dist LEXIS 2748); 1955 Trade Cas. (CCH) 68, 158.
48. *United States v. National City Lines. Civil Action No. 49* C 1364. (1954 U.S. Dist LEXIS 3745; 1954 Trade Cas. [CCH] 67, 917).
49. Quotes and information from Bradford Snell, *American Ground Transport*, cited in Fischler, *Moving Millions*, 86–87.
50. Thomas B. Leary, "Letters: Fighting the 'Big Lie' About General Motors," in *The Legal Times* (American Lawyer Newspapers Group, Inc., May 21, 1990), 24.
51. Quotes and information on Barnes from Farrell, *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go?*, 164.
52. "Dismisses Transit Suit by Robertson," *Baltimore Sun*, May 29, 1946.
53. "Would Ban Trolleys in Congested Zones," *Evening Sun*, August 31, 1935; Farrell, *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go?*, 285; "One-Way Traffic Bill Considered," *Baltimore Sun*, June 11, 1946.
54. "City Urged to Collect Transit Tax," *Baltimore Sun*, August 26, 1944.
55. Ordinance information from "Final Action on B.T.C. Due," *Baltimore Sun*, May 14, 1946.
56. Wolman, et al., *Report to the Mayor*, 1.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Thomas Kirby and the Decline of Shipbuilding in Talbot County

PETE LESHER

Guests arrived at the harbor of St. Michaels, Maryland, aboard a chartered steamboat in the spring of 1904. The hull of a newly completed power vessel stood on the stocks at Thomas H. Kirby and Sons, the last working shipyard in the small oystermen's village. The town appeared to one visitor as "a clean out-of-the-world place; the white oyster-shell streets fringed with grass, giving a look like Holland. . . . The harbor is very cosy, and little oystermen's houses huddle close about it."[1] The guests crowded into Kirby's small yard along with school children from St. Michaels and nearby Easton and many of the town's residents. After a bottle was broken over the stem and a pair of wedges was knocked loose, the newly named *Emma K. Reed* slipped down the greased ways into the harbor.[2]

Several hundred wooden vessels had been launched within two miles of this spot since the late eighteenth century, eighty of them from the exact site where *Emma K. Reed* was framed up. By 1904, however, demand for these larger wooden vessels was shrinking on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Small gasoline skiffs and modest skipjacks were doing the work of the fisheries, and the railroads were finally beginning to take freight away from the schooners. Never again would a vessel as large as the ninety-four-ton *Emma K. Reed* be launched from a Talbot County shipyard.

Thomas H. Kirby (1824–1915) was the proprietor of this yard, the last to build large wooden vessels in St. Michaels. At the turn of the century, Kirby's yard was completing its transition from shipbuilding to maintenance and repair. Subse-

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Opposite: Kirby Shipyard's bugeye Alexander Bond, *c. 1930. (Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum.)*

quently, except for wartime government contracts, the county's boat builders would produce nothing larger than small yachts or motor work boats for oyster tongers. Over his long career, Kirby would witness the end of the wooden shipbuilding industry in St. Michaels.

A stocky man of about five feet, eight inches in height, Kirby was a native of Talbot County, the son of wheelwright Elesbury Kirby (1792–1874). The father was a member of the local militia that defended Talbot County from the British during the War of 1812.[3] That militia zealously guarded St. Michaels because of its prized shipyards, which built the fast schooners that were favored for blockade running and privateering before and during the war. In the 1820s, the agricultural depression affected shipbuilding, and the production of wooden vessels dropped to almost nothing in Talbot County. Shipbuilding revived in St. Michaels when two builders, Robert Lambdin and Edward Willey, established yards in 1840, and subsequently, most of the vessels built in Talbot County were intended for the fisheries or trade within the Chesapeake Bay tidewater.

Thomas Kirby learned his trade as an apprentice to Robert Lambdin, who between 1841 and 1885 became the most prolific of the many shipbuilders to have worked in the St. Michaels area.[4] In addition to Kirby, four of Lambdin's own sons apprenticed in his yard. Although details of Kirby's apprenticeship were never recorded, one of Lambdin's sons recalled his apprenticeship in later years, "I started my apprenticeship . . . scarcely seventeen years old, [and] went to Hollands Point woods to get timber."[5] The younger Lambdin's apprenticeship lasted about four years, a typical length for budding Chesapeake area shipbuilders. Selecting and cutting local pine and oak trees was a time-consuming task that was among the first jobs given to apprentices. Even more onerous was hand-sawing planks. The St. Michaels area did not have a good source of mill-sawn ship planks until the W. W. Tunis sawmill commenced operations in 1864 at the head of Leeds Creek, just across the Miles River from St. Michaels. Kirby's apprenticeship must have taken place in the 1840s, and he undoubtedly spent many days on the lower end of a two-man rip saw, under six-foot trestles, trying to keep sawdust out of his eyes. Kirby's teacher Robert Lambdin had gone through the same process a generation earlier at his stepfather's St. Michaels shipyard.[6]

During the Civil War, Kirby went to work in a Baltimore shipyard, possibly the yard of William Skinner and Sons, along with fellow apprentice George W. Lambdin. When the two returned to St. Michaels after the war, they collaborated in the construction of a new schooner, *Senora,* the first for which either of them supervised construction.[7]

Kirby set up a yard at the foot of East Chestnut Street in St. Michaels, began engaging in vessel repair, and increasingly, in new construction.[8] He was forty-one when he began building vessels as a master ship carpenter. He was older than might be expected, but the depression of 1857 had a cooling effect on shipbuilding,

and this, combined with subsequent wartime work in Baltimore, probably delayed his establishment of an independent yard. In the decades following the Civil War, Kirby benefited as demand for small vessels soared with a boom in the Chesapeake's oyster fishery.

Kirby launched two schooners and two pungies in 1869, a level of productivity that he would never repeat, measured by either tonnage or number of hulls. Pungies, a Chesapeake variant of the schooner, were going out of fashion in the 1870s and 1880s, replaced in the carrying trade by shoal-draft centerboard schooners that could enter shallower creeks to load, and in the oyster fishery by bugeyes, which were cheaper to build and easier to handle. Kirby constructed his last pungy, *Ida*, in 1873.

In about 1870, Kirby moved his operation across St. Michaels harbor, renting the former yard of Edward Willey. Willey had acquired nearby farmland and quit the shipbuilding trade shortly after the Civil War.[9] After the move, Kirby continued to build schooners, but added bugeyes and centerboard sloops to his output, as well as one sailing yacht, at least one barge, and a single steamer.

In 1875, Frederick Lang formed a partnership with Kirby and purchased the yard from Willey. Lang, a Baltimore vessel owner, provided the capital, and for the next fifteen years the yard traded as Kirby & Lang. In 1890, Kirby bought out his partner and changed the name to Thomas H. Kirby & Sons. Two of his sons entered the business with him. John R. Kirby (1851–1922) became the draftsman for the yard, making half-hull models for the construction of new vessels, and laying down the lines on the mold-loft floor, while William B. Kirby (1855–1926) worked as a carpenter and handled accounts. Several invoices from the yard are marked received by "Will."[10] John and Will operated the yard until after Thomas H. Kirby's death in 1915, later renting the yard to other operators and finally selling the property in 1929.[11]

Kirby was not notably innovative as a builder, although he followed several trends in boat building on the bay. Of the nine bugeyes he launched, five had round sterns. This was an innovation introduced to bugeyes by Robert Lambdin with the *Cynthia* in 1881. Kirby would follow suit with the round-stern bugeye *Thomas H. Kirby* in 1882. The round stern addressed the problem of a lack of working space in the stern, but it added considerable expense to the construction of the vessel, and Kirby built both sharp- and round-stern bugeyes into the 1890s.

Capt. Cloudsbury H. Clash became one of Kirby's customers in 1878, which is remarkable because Clash was a boat builder himself and operated a yard in the next county to the north. The 66-ton centerboard schooner *Chesterfield* may have been too large to construct in Clash's own yard, bringing him to Kirby's well-equipped facility. Kirby not only accepted Clash's design for the schooner, but also allowed Clash to supervise construction of the schooner. Kirby earned the handsome sum of $6500 for labor and materials on the schooner.[12]

In addition to *Chesterfield*, at least one other Kirby-built vessel was constructed

to a design from another source. A sloop with a reputation for speed, *Flying Scud,* built at Brooklyn, New York, in 1867, was hauled out on Kirby's railway, and John Kirby took the lines. From these measurements he made the molds for a new sloop, *Maria,* built in 1888.[13] Kirby modified the molds for the new vessel, increasing the beam significantly from 10.3 to 16.4 feet, so it was far from a replicated design. Kirby's partner Frederick Lang purchased the new sloop when she was completed.

Lang himself was one of the yard's best customers during the years he had a financial interest in it. Lang purchased a one-third share of the schooner *Lottie and Annie* when she was launched in June 1875, just two months before he entered into the partnership with Kirby. Lang would own all or part of five additional vessels launched by the yard, ending with the yacht *Montour,* the only documented yacht identified with Kirby.

The shipbuilding business grew and contracted with the cycles of the general economy and the oyster fishery, but repair work provided a steadier income. One of the first improvements Kirby and Lang made to their yard was the installation of a marine railway for hauling vessels out of the water. Marine railways had begun appearing in the Chesapeake's port cities in the 1830s, and by 1851 there were no fewer than nine in Baltimore, but more isolated towns around the Chesapeake did not begin to see them until after the Civil War.[14] Baltimore marine railways began requiring that repair work be done by the yard that hauled the vessel out, not by the vessel's crew, and this tended to drive some of the business to small Eastern Shore yards, which began installing railways.[15] In about 1869, William P. Benson had built one at Oxford, said to be the first marine railway on Maryland's Eastern Shore. A marine railway was a considerable capital investment of $3,000 to $4,000, and builders like Kirby or Benson formed partnerships with financial backers to install marine railways.[16] Benson's partnership with Henry E. Bateman had enabled him to install a marine railway, and Kirby's partnership with Frederick Lang helped him to do the same.[17] By the time Kirby installed his, marine railways were available in most of the principal Eastern Shore towns: Cambridge, Bethel, Sharptown, Whitehaven, Crisfield, and Newtown (later renamed Pocomoke City).[18] However, Kirby's railway was, until the twentieth century, the only marine railway at St. Michaels and for many miles around. Several of Kirby's neighbors who owned vessels would use his facility every year for maintenance. Yard bills from 1885 and 1890 show that Kirby received $4.00 for hauling a small yacht, and labor for carpentry or caulking was charged at $2.50 per ten-hour day.[19]

Kirby extensively rebuilt at least two vessels. In 1887 he rebuilt the forty-year-old schooner *John Nichols.* The dimensions were not changed substantially, and when remeasured, her tonnage dropped slightly.[20] Ten years later the schooner *Kate McNamara* received a similar treatment, slightly lengthening the hull with an altered transom. *Kate McNamara* was only twenty-four, not a very old vessel at the time that Kirby altered her. She had been launched in 1873 by Joseph W. Brooks of

Sailing vessels and small craft crowd Kirby's shipyard on a calm day in 1907. (Chesapeake Bay Maritime Mueum.)

Dorchester County, one of the most reputable builders on the Chesapeake. Whether her condition or other considerations led to her alteration is unknown.

After 1904, when Kirby launched his last new vessel, his business would be devoted entirely to vessel maintenance, and his billheads noted "care of yachts during closed season a specialty." This evidently kept the aging Kirby and his labor force of ten or twelve sufficiently busy.[21]

Kirby's work force was integrated, but none of the African Americans held positions of authority. Unlike in Baltimore yards, a white man, Elmer Burrows, was Kirby's chief caulker, and he did other jobs as well. Thom Caldwell, an African-American, was a skilled man with the saw, along with Jasper Tarr. Iron work was not done at the yard, but by independent blacksmiths John S. Hambleton and Joseph B. Hunt, with shops a few blocks from the shipyard.[22]

Thomas Kirby was described by a visiting yachtsman as a "courteous gentleman of the old school."[23] Edward Watkins, who haunted the yard as a boy, remembered that Kirby scolded the youth for wearing a belt instead of suspenders. "He didn't like fellows who wore belts and smoked cigarettes; they spent too much time hitching up their trousers and rolling cigarettes and not enough time working."[24] There is little doubt about his work ethic; Kirby seems to have remained active in the yard with his sons until just a few years before his death on May 3, 1915, at the age of ninety.[25] He lived just three blocks from the shipyard, in a house built for him in about 1888.[26] To shorten his walk to the yard, however, he built a private

footbridge across the marshy cove behind his house. Behind his house he stabled a ginger-colored horse that for thirty years was used to run his railway, turning repeatedly around a geared vertical shaft. The horse, too, walked across the narrow footbridge on the way to and from the yard.[27]

Kirby was an old man of eighty by the time he launched his last vessel, but his sons active in the yard were forty-nine and fifty-three. It was not age, but other forces that led the yard to abandon shipbuilding in favor of maintenance. Two significant changes swept the Chesapeake's shipyards around the turn of the twentieth century. First, skipjack construction supplanted the earlier bugeyes and sloops in the oyster dredging fishery. Hundreds of skipjacks were built from the late 1890s to the eve of the First World War. Skipjacks typically cost about six hundred dollars new, half the cost of a bugeye of equal tonnage.

Skipjack carpentry was typically viewed as rough and less skilled by the Chesapeake's older shipbuilders, and few of them made the transition from building bugeyes to building skipjacks. In fact, only one builder, John Branford of Fairmount, nearly ninety miles south of St. Michaels, built large numbers of both types.[28] Other skilled bugeye builders, John B. Harrison of Tilghman and Otis Lloyd of Salisbury, each produced just a single skipjack.[29] Most skipjacks were built by a new generation of builders. Thomas H. Kirby & Sons never built a single one.

Second, power vessels began to appear in the local carrying trade that had been the domain of schooners, a specialty of Kirby's. Few new schooners were built after gasoline freight boats began appearing on the Chesapeake, although schooners maintained a significant presence in these waters until the Depression. Kirby's last vessel, *Emma K. Reed,* was a power vessel that the yard completed except for the engine installation. Like other veteran shipbuilders on the Eastern Shore, however, Kirby did not continue building power vessels. Joseph K. Brooks of Dorchester County and John Branford of Somerset County each built just a few power vessels near the ends of their careers.[30]

Local demand for Kirby's vessels was waning. When Kirby opened his yard, some twenty vessels called St. Michaels home port.[31] Kirby's schooners *R. A. Dodson* and *Ella F. Cripps* and bugeyes *J. E. Watkins* and *Thomas Blades* each worked out of St. Michaels for years. Except for oyster tonging canoes and small yachts, that number had dropped steadily in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Trade from St. Michaels, particularly the products of its growing seafood packing houses and tomato canneries, began leaving town on the railroad that came through town in the early 1890s, and less trade was carried by schooner or steamboat.

Small oyster tonging boats, although widely used in St. Michaels, were no longer built in large numbers by the town's yards. Several builders of these small skiffs and bateaux worked in the neighborhood of St. Michaels, but few in the town itself. The village of Wittman, locally called "Pot Pie," just six miles west of St. Michaels produced hundreds of small skiffs and bateaux for the Chesapeake's

Vessels Built by Thomas H. Kirby

Off. No.	Year	Vessel Name	Rig	Gross T.	L.	B.	D.	First Owner
22029	1865	*Senora*	Schooner	54.93	71.3	21.4	5.7	For Thomas Larrimore; foundered Choptank River Sept. 5, 1924
24603	1867	*Thomas E. Bell*	Schooner (Pungy?)	39.11	60.5	20.0	6.3	
85066	1869	*George E. Smoot*	Schooner	117.84	95.8	27.6	6.4	For Capt. Levin Granger & Levin H. Sullivan; renamed *Magnolia* by lighthouse service
13929	1869	*John E. A. Cunningham*	Pungy	28.27	58.0	19.7	5.8	
17988	1869	*Mary and Martha*	Pungy	25.09	49.0	17.0	5.5	For William E. Burns & Thomas A. Burns
23659	1869	*Sally Ann*	Schooner	31.07	55.0	19.0	4.0	Centerboard
90204	1870	*Maid of the Mist*	Pungy	49.02	65.2	21.2	6.8	For Capt. Frank Cassaday
24881	1871	*Thomas H. Kirby*	Schooner	36.13	63.0	20.2	5.6	Centerboard; for Geo. M. Tyler ½ & John Price ½; same model as *William Hayward* with deeper hold
80199	1871	*William Hayward*	Schooner	40.11	62.0	20.0	5.0	Centerboard; for Capt. Greenbury Marshall
80280	1872	*William H. Jillard*	Schooner	66.52	77.5	23.6	6.5	
125178	1873	*C. W. Willey*	Schooner	46.0	67.5	21.4	6.0	Keel
100095	1873	*Ida*	Pungy	35.48	58.0	19.9	6.0	For Thos. Blades (1/2), Wm. Sewell (1/4), M. Sylvester (1/4)
125268	1874	*Corsica*	Schooner	61.14	77.6	23.2	5.0	For Jno. H. Ozman, Thos. W. Kendall & Wm. H. Emory
140107	1875	*Lottie & Annie*	Schooner	96.63	86.0	26.5	6.6	For Frederick Lang (1/3) et al.
125605	1877	*Charles H. Richardson*	Schooner	53.98	66.8	22.3	5.7	For Charles Wacker; abandoned 1932
105771	1878	*Anna*	Schooner	28.04	70.0	17.0	5.0	For Frederick Lang
125699	1878	*Chesterfield*	Schooner	63.55	79.6	22.4	5.3	Centerboard; for Cloudsbury H. Clash, $6,500
76077	1879	*J. E. Watkins*	Bugeye	15.51	52.8	14.5	3.8	For James B. Watkins of St. Michaels
76073	1879	*Julie A. Brown*	Bugeye	15.2	52.8	14.0	3.7	John T. Brown of Baltimore
105929	1880	*A. Booth*	Schooner	71.29	82.2	23.4	5.9	For Martin L. Todd (1/3), Fred. Lang (1/3), Jno. E. Cromwell (1/3)
105972	1881	*A. Powell*	Sloop	14.11	44.7	14.5	2.8	For Frederick Lang
125936	1881	*Caradora*	Schooner	56.65	74.1	22.6	5.7	Centerboard

110530	1882	*R. A. Dodson*	Schooner	22.78	54.0	16.5	4.7	Centerboard
145316	1882	*Thomas H. Kirby*	Bugeye	28.3	61.0	17.6	5.1	Round stern; for Alexander Bond
135741	1883	*Emma V. Wills*	Schooner	45.81	64.9	22.1	6.3	For Clarence Walmsley, Thos. C. Cruikshank, & others
80989	1883	*Watson Tompkins*	Schooner	77.86	83.5	27.1	5.4	For Watson Tompkins, Frederick Tompkins & others
3291	1884	*Bohemia*	Schooner	71.53	81.3	23.8	6.0	For J. H. Steele of Chesapeake City, Md.
91723	1884	*Minnie E. Booth*	Schooner	70.4	81.2	23.7	6.2	For A. Booth; Foundered in West Indies c. 1889
126285	1885	*Commodore*	Bugeye	20.94	57.6	16.0	4.5	Round stern
34164	1886	*Crescete*	Barge	65.9				
116094	1886	*Susan A. Bryan*	Schooner	44.51	68.9	20.6	5.3	
12524	1887	*John Nichols*	Schooner	41.23	62.8	20.3	5.5	Rebuilt by Kirby; originally built 1847, Somerset County
126534	1888	*Calumet Club*	Schooner	60.75	73.7	22.6	6.2	For P. F. Prendergast
91996	1888	*Maria*	Sloop	24.32	58.8	16.0	4.8	Designed after sloop *Flying Scud* (1867 Brooklyn N.Y.)
145488	1888	*Thomas Blades*	Bugeye	27.55	62.0	17.6	5.1	Round stern
155171	1889	*Oystermen*	Schooner	51.75	71.2	20.6	6.1	
86107	1890	*Gracie*	Bugeye	26.29	58.0	17.7	5.0	Round stern; for Wm. E. Tarr
92730	1890	*Montour*	Sloop yacht	17.0	41.6	13.3	5.8	For Frederick Lang
157323	1891	*Dan*	Bugeye	22.0	58.5	17.0	4.7	For Capt. George Ayres of Rock Hall
150601	1892	*Patrick F. Prendergast*	Bugeye	26.0	61.0	16.8	4.9	For Edward P. and Patrick F. Prendergast
107046	1893	*Alexander Bond*	Bugeye	30.0	65.5	19.0	5.4	Round stern; burned 1933 near Old Point Comfort, Virginia
86330	1895	*George S. Cripps*	Schooner	43.27	67.9	20.8	5.5	
14291	1897	*Kate McNamara*	Schooner	65.0	79.0	23.6	6.2	Rebuilt by Kirby; originally built 1873 by J. W. Brooks of Madison, Md.; burned Feb. 11, 1908
136851	1900	*Ella F. Cripps*	Schooner	47.0	69.2	21.9	5.8	For Capt. J. C. Reed of St. Michaels, $6,000
201143	1904	*Emma K. Reed*	Gas screw	94.0	94.4	20.5	6.4	

watermen in the twentieth century. Labor and materials for boat building clearly remained available in the vicinity.

Ultimately, the marine railway itself seems to have helped bring an end to shipbuilding in St. Michaels. Although it may have helped sustain the shipbuilding yard in lean years, the reliable income that ship repair generated provided a more stable income and helped maintain a stable workforce. Once the capital investment was made in the marine railway, it made sense for Kirby to concentrate on its use to keep his yard employed. Consequently, when Kirby launched his last vessel, he closed the era of wooden shipbuilding in St. Michaels.

NOTES

1. Robert Barrie, "The Chesapeake Again," in Robert Barrie and George Barrie, Jr., *Cruises, Mainly on the Bay of the Chesapeake* (Bryn Mawr: The Franklin Press, 1909), 50.
2. Edward B. Watkins, *St. Michaels Reminiscences* (n.p.: The author, 1976), 6.
3. Paul Lantz Kirby, "A Family Album," typescript, Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum (hereinafter cited CBMM)vertical file, 15, 17, 20, 28.
4. Pete Lesher, "Apprenticeships and the Shipbuilding Trade: Robert Lambdin of St. Michaels," *The Weather Gauge* 36 (Fall 2000): 20–21.
5. Robert D. Lambdin, "Veteran Boat Builder Tells of Talbot's Famous Canoes," Easton *Star-Democrat,* September 29, 1926. Several locations on the Chesapeake bear the name Hollands Point. Lambdin was probably referring to the one on Taylors Island in Dorchester County, an area where shipbuilding wood could be obtained.
6. Robert D. Lambdin, "Early Ship-Building in Maryland; A Special Reference to the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe: Autobiography of Robert Dawson Lambdin," typescript (April 1935), 3–4.
7. Robert D. Lambdin, "Boat Building of Yesterday in Talbot," *St. Michaels Comet* (January 10, 1925; Kirby, "A Family Album," 22.
8. Robert D. Lambdin, "Veteran Boat Builder Tells of Talbot's Famous Canoes."
9. Pete Lesher, "Edward Willey and the Revival of Shipbuilding in St. Michaels," *The Weather Gauge* 31 (Fall 1995): 24.
10. Kirby, "A Family Album," 25; Invoices from Kirby & Lang, June 24, 1885, August 22, 1885, and May 27, 1890. Author's collection.
11. Kirby, "A Family Album," 22, confirmed by Talbot County Land Records.
12. "Capt. Cloudsbury H. Clash," *Portrait and Biographical Record of the Eastern Shore* (New York: Chapman Publishing Co., 1898), 264–67.
13. George Shockley of St. Michaels, interviewed by John G. Earle, June 23, 1935. Notes of interview in author's collection.
14. John G. B. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789–1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941), 108; *Thompson's Mercantile and Professional Directory . . . 1851–52* (Baltimore, William Thompson, 1851), 65.
15. Henry Hall, *Report on the Ship-Building Industry of the United States,* Tenth Census, Vol. VIII (Washington, 1882), 127.
16. Ibid., 34.
17. Lesher, "Oxford's Shipyard: Benson & Bateman," *The Weather Gauge* 33 (Spring 1997): 13.

18. Lambdin, "Early Ship-Building in Maryland," 5; *The 1877 Atlases and Other Early Maps of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Salisbury, Md.: The Wicomico Bicentennial Commission, 1976), 21, 32, 37, 77.
19. Invoices from Kirby & Lang, June 24, 1885, August 22, 1885, and May 27, 1890.
20. According to the *List of Merchant Vessels of the United States* for 1885, her dimensions before rebuilding were 62.8 feet length, 23.3 feet beam, 5.5 feet depth, 43.09 gross tons, 40.94 net tons. In 1888 and subsequent years the same series gives 62.8 feet length, 20.3 feet beam, 5.5 feet depth, 41.23 gross tons, 39.17 net tons. The difference in the measurement of the beam is assumed to be a clerical error.
21. Watkins, *St. Michaels Reminiscences,* 6.
22. Ibid., 6–7; Elmer Burrows interviewed by Terrence Burrows, March 16, 1965, notes in CBMM vertical file.
23. Barrie, "The Chesapeake Again," 50.
24. Watkins, *St. Michaels Reminiscences,* 8; This bias against belts is affirmed by Kirby, 29.
25. Kirby family Bible, copies in CBMM vertical file.
26. Elizabeth Hughes, *Historic St. Michaels: An Architectural History* (St. Michaels: Historic St. Michaels–Bay Hundred, 1996), 113.
27. Watkins, *St. Michaels Reminiscences,* 8–9; Kirby, "A Family Album," 25.
28. Lesher, "From Bugeyes to Skipjacks: John Branford, Master Ship Carpenter," *The Weather Gauge* 34 (Fall 1998): 24.
29. Richard J. Dodds, "John B. Harrison of Tilghman Island—'None Better,'" *The Weather Gauge* 25 (Spring 1989): 23; Pat Vojtech, *Chesapeake Bay Skipjacks* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1993), 139.
30. Pete Lesher, "From Bugeyes to Skipjacks," 21–22; Pete Lesher, "The Industrious Shipbuilder: Joseph W. Brooks," *The Weather Gauge* 36 (Spring 2000): 6.
31. Lambdin, "Veteran Boat Builder Tells of Talbot's Famous Canoes."

Book Reviews

The Making of a Modern City: Philanthropy, Civic Culture, and the Baltimore YMCA. By Jessica I. Elfenbein. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. 192 pages. Bibliography, notes, index. $55.)

Jessica Elfenbein's study of the Baltimore YMCA between the years 1852 and 1932 sheds valuable new light on an important era in American urban history. Typically, the period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is portrayed as a time of unbridled corporate power, indifferent if not callous toward the plight of the working class. Neither the machine politicians of city government nor the well-meaning but small-scale efforts of urban reformers did much to alleviate the dismal working and living conditions of the thousands of people flocking into the cities at the height of the Industrial Revolution. Through her research in the archives of the Baltimore YMCA, Elfenbein has found evidence that will alter our understanding of this period. Beginning in the 1870s, YMCA records reveal that city businessmen and political leaders asked Association leaders to provide some physical, educational, spiritual, and recreational services for workers and the poor. The YMCA became, in Elfenbein's words, a "flexible vessel" (1), fulfilling a variety of social and corporate welfare services during a time when traditional American institutions could not keep pace with the rapidity of social and industrial change. The YMCA was, in essence, a vital transitional institution that provided a bridge between the laissez-faire government of the nineteenth century and the activist welfare state of the twentieth century. As such, it played an important, though not well appreciated, role in the history of Baltimore and other American cities.

From the very beginning, the YMCA was innovative. During its early years, the YMCA focused its attention on bringing the elements of a non-denominational Protestantism to young, single men of modest means. YMCA leaders were disturbed by the many young men arriving in the city without the stabilizing ties of church or family. To attract young men to religion, YMCA leaders developed a "more masculine and non-denominational religiosity" (11). They took prayer out of the churches and brought it into the neighborhoods by organizing prayer meetings in the halls of fire companies, in dance halls, and on the streets. They offered young men housing assistance, recreational facilities, and vocational training with the dual aim of providing much-needed services and moral guidance.

During the 1880s, the YMCA enlarged its mission to address some of the other

pressing needs of the rapidly industrializing city. Under the dynamic leadership of its general secretary, William H. Morriss, the YMCA formed partnerships with many of the city's leading businesses to provide social and spiritual services for workers. This relationship began after the violent B&O Railroad Strike of 1877 when evangelist Dwight L. Moody convinced Robert Garrett that funding YMCA branches along the B&O's rail lines represented "not a philanthropy, but simply good business for the railroad company" (76). The B&O Railroad YMCA began by offering prayer meetings and Bible study groups for workers and gradually developed a wider range of services, including temporary housing, bathing and recreational facilities, and educational opportunities. In 1890, the Pennsylvania Railroad followed the lead of the B&O and opened its own branch YMCA in Baltimore. For other local companies, the Baltimore YMCA offered to bring religion onto the shop floor through "shop meetings" (85), which featured religious services and lectures on health and education. These "shop meetings" proved popular, and in 1919, they were held at thirty-three work sites in the city and attended by more than 72,000 workers.

During this same period, the YMCA became a leader in vocational and professional education. The YMCA offered classes such as bookkeeping, typing, mechanical drawing, and stenography in its popular Evening Institute. In 1908, it developed a professional accounting program in its Accounting Institute, later known as the Baltimore College of Commerce. The YMCA also provided educational services for Baltimore's growing community of immigrants. It offered classes in English and "Naturalization," a class that prepared foreigners for the citizenship exam. In 1920 alone, the YMCA served more than 2,100 students in its day and evening classes, making it a critical educational agency in the city.

Elfenbein argues that the YMCA's extensive educational program provided working and middle-class men with the means to climb the city's occupational ladder: "With its emphasis on serving the educational needs of ambitious men of even meager means . . . the YMCA opened new paths to commercial and civic authority, power, and leadership for a broad range of people" (104). Tragically, that "broad range" did not include Baltimore's African American men.

In the segregated society of late-nineteenth-century Baltimore, the YMCA was an exclusively white institution. Baltimore's African Americans organized their own YMCA in 1892 after being denied financial assistance by leaders of the white YMCA. Despite limited resources, the African-American YMCA, better known as the Druid Hill YMCA, provided educational, vocational, and residential services for young black men. In 1900, it defiantly celebrated its accomplishments in a report entitled: "What the Colored [YMCA] Has Done for Itself . . . Without Aid from the White People" (63). In poignant contrast to the white collar employment opportunities available at the white YMCA, the employment bureau of the Druid Hill YMCA offered its young men positions such as "porters, waiters, coachmen,

footmen [and] bell-boys" (64). A major boost in the fortunes of the African American YMCA came in 1910 when Sears Roebuck president, Julius Rosenwald, offered $25,000 to any community that raised $75,000 for the building of a black YMCA. White Baltimoreans responded to this challenge by raising $50,000 while blacks, with limited resources, worked long and hard to raise $25,000. In 1919, the handsome new Druid Hill Avenue YMCA building opened its doors to much public acclaim. It was a major accomplishment for Baltimore's African American community, and a significant event in that community's history.

The YMCA did not define itself as a charitable organization. Its efforts focused on young men aspiring to enter the middle class, not on the destitute. And yet, a number of the YMCA's leaders and members played important roles in the development of modern philanthropy at the end of the nineteenth century. Students and faculty members of Levering Hall, the campus branch of the YMCA at Johns Hopkins University, pioneered new approaches to helping the poor. The fruitful collaboration of Hopkins student and faculty, under the leadership of Daniel Gilman, and the Baltimore Charity Organization Society, headed by John Glenn, led to the introduction of "scientific" philanthropy (44), an approach to helping the poor which stressed the rational organization of charitable efforts and an emphasis on preventing poverty through education and training. In the formulation of this new approach to philanthropy, which transformed local as well as national programs, the YMCA's philosophy of self-help through education represented an essential contribution.

The Making of a Modern City is a relatively brief, though not easily read volume. Originally written as a doctoral dissertation, it retains much of the style of an academic exercise. However, the reader who perseveres will ultimately be rewarded by a study that illuminates an important chapter of Baltimore's past. Fifteen rarely seen photographic images, mostly taken from the YMCA archives, further enhance the value of this book. *The Making of a Modern City* should be of particular interest to those following the current debate over government funding of faith-based institutions and the role of such institutions in meeting urgent social needs.

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In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692. By Mary Beth Norton. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002. 432 pages. Appendices, notes, maps, index. Cloth, $30. Available in Vintage paperbacks, $17.00.)

Finally we have an account of the witchcraft persecution that deals with the events of 1692 in chronological order and provides a wider historical context than the immediate local concerns that have absorbed other scholars. In this elegant and detailed study Mary Beth Norton carefully charts the accusations and pat-

terns of affliction as they changed over time under the impact of events outside of the community. Norton, who is noted more for her inspired studies of women in America, has taken a fresh look at the various testimonies of witnesses and accusers, the confessions of the accused, personal correspondence, and public documents of the time to reveal a pattern relating witchcraft fears to disastrous losses to the Wabanakis, the Indians on the northeastern frontier.

In the process the author has found a key to some of the most vexing questions: why the witchhunt happened in Salem and the surrounding communities and not elsewhere; why the fantasies of young people—mainly girls and women under twenty-five—were believed by their elders; why the leaders were so often willing to accept the novel idea that elite members of the community collaborated with the devil. It happened, Norton writes, because the accusations of invisible, Satanic activity became a substitute for the more insoluble but visible threat from Indian attacks. The failure of the leaders to stop Indian attacks in outlying Massachusetts settlements (now part of Maine) in previous years, she argues, is crucial to an understanding of the fear that permeated nearby communities. The association of the visible (Indian) and invisible (Satan) world, she says, was "closely entwined in New Englanders' minds" (297). Given the nature of Puritan theology, it was easier for Puritans to understand why God had let the devil loose in their community than to come to grips with their own failures to contain the Wabanakis. Thus they turned on their own community to root out their perceived enemies.

The book is divided into three major parts. The first, a chronological narrative of the events, identifies the various participants with details not available elsewhere regarding ages, familial and economic connections, and pattern of migration. Included is a wealth of information on the reliability of sources and questions of historical interpretation in the endnotes. The second part on the Indian Wars of 1675–78 (this war lasted longer on the northeastern border than where it started in Rhode Island but ended in 1676) and the Second Indian War beginning in 1688. This is not a history of the wars but a story of isolated events on the northern frontier and their impact on those individuals with Salem connections or who went to Salem afterwards as refugees.

The third section probes the trials with fresh insight into the relationship between the first accusations, the grand jury investigation, and the ongoing but sporadic Indian attacks. The first trial and execution in June of Bridget Bishop, a stereotypical accused witch, should have ended the witchhunt. Norton shows how the climate of fear caused by new Indian incursions on the frontier spurred both new trials and a spurt of confessions. Instead of homing in on the traditional witch type of old, disagreeable neighbor women like Bishop, accusations ranged wildly against the elite, against men, against strangers in distant communities, all of whom were connected in some way to the Wabanakis, to past Indian Wars, or to older unresolved conflicts within the community.

Norton focuses her inquiry on people displaced by that warfare: of Mercy Lewis, a refugee from Maine who fed young Ann Putnam with stories of Indian torturers and dismemberment reflected afterwards in testimonies of being torn to pieces; of Susan Sheldon who also suffered at the hands of the Wabanakis and had personal knowledge of John Alden and Philip English's illicit dealings with those Indians; of Mary Toothaker who confessed to consorting with the devil because he had promised to protect her from the Wabanakis menacing her town of Billerica; of Abigail Hobbs, the first to accuse her minister George Burroughs; and of George Burroughs, entrusted with the spiritual welfare of those on the border, whose escape from the Wabanakis without any losses to family, made him a suspect.

From a mosaic of elusive, seemingly unrelated commentary, Norton has revealed a tightly drawn picture of people unable to protect themselves from the real enemy, the Wabanakis, redirecting their energies and fears toward an invisible world. The judges in turn were invested with belief in the guilt of the accused, because, says Norton, "they needed to believe that they themselves were *not* guilty of causing New England's current woes" with the Indians (300).

Norton's skillful handling of the documentary material and insightful analyses of the events as they unfolded during that fateful year of 1692 will set a new standard for any future writing about the Salem Witch trials. This study is one of the most significant works on the witchcraft crisis to date.

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In Praise of Poverty: Hannah More Counters Thomas Paine and the Radical Threat. By Mona Scheuermann. (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 2002. 269 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, $36.)

While social contemporaries of eighteenth-century British writer Hannah More viewed her as a benevolent champion of the poor, more recent scholars have offered a variety of portrayals, ranging from pioneer female novelist to anti-feminist moralist (18–19). Mona Scheuermann, in her latest study of eighteenth-century British society and literature, seeks to discover the "eighteenth-century More"(19) by examining a selection of More's post-1790 writings on the poor in the context of the world in which she lived. In the process, she reveals More as a social and political activist who was not merely a representative but a product of the more conservative, reactionary elements of eighteenth-century England.

Scheuermann's study focuses on two of More's major pieces of work: her series of pamphlets known collectively as the Cheap Repository Tracts and her 1793 book, *Village Politics*. Through analysis of the texts themselves, comparisons with other popular or influential publications of the time, and evidence drawn from More's correspondence, Scheuermann demonstrates More's intent to provide moral guid-

ance to members of her own social class as well as to those beneath her, while reinforcing notions of an established hierarchy and defending the status quo. Scheuermann's chief reference points in discussing More's works are Joseph Townsend's *A Dissertation on the Poor Laws* and Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man.*

In her examination of the moralist tales in the Cheap Repository Tracts, Scheuermann finds much evidence to support her contention that More was influenced by conservative critics of Britain's eighteenth-century Poor Laws, such as Townsend. She argues that, like Townsend, More promoted the views that widespread charity was dangerous because it encouraged laziness rather than industriousness, that only the "deserving poor" were worthy candidates for help from their social superiors, and that even those poor who merited aid ought to labor diligently and happily in their God-ordained place within society. Scheuermann offers examples of similar attitudes in More's personal correspondence as well, underlining the conservative outlook prevalent in More's British, upper-class environment.

This conservative perspective was often reinforced by historical events and circumstances, in particular the growing threat of radical ideas such as those associated with the French Revolution and Thomas Paine's pamphlet, *Rights of Man.* Paine's work was disturbing to many conservatives, and the Bishop of London asked More to write a refutation. The result was *Village Politics*, published in 1793. With this piece, Scheuermann says, More emerged as a political activist. Countering Paine's calls for equality, republicanism, and redistribution of property, More rebutted each of Paine's points on moral, social, economic and political grounds. While More's fictional character, Tom Hod, a mason, initially sympathizes with Paine's radical ideas, by the end of *Village Politics*, Tom is clearly persuaded of the benefits of hierarchy, poor relief, monarchy and even taxation of the poor.

One of the strengths of Scheuermann's methodology is that it allows her to combine the practices of both historical and literary studies. She includes references to several writings of the times other than those discussed above to convey the extent to which More's tracts were influenced by the period in which she lived and her place within society. Although she concedes that it is difficult to ascertain how More's writings were received by members of the lower classes, she demonstrates that More was also clearly speaking to and reaching large numbers of her own class. Not only was her work sometimes commissioned by her social contemporaries, as was the case with *Village Politics*, but her deeply conservative political, social, and moral messages were intended for them as well. While other scholars have remarked on More's conservatism, Scheuermann's purpose is to illustrate that her views were shaped by the reactionary, conservative attitudes popular in eighteenth-century British upper-class society.

In this respect, it is somewhat disappointing that Scheuermann limits the scope of her book to More's works written after 1790. Although *Village Politics* may have

marked More's first foray into the pamphlet wars of the political arena, she was publishing poems and social commentary with great success as early as the 1770s (9). Moreover, More was a participant in the antislavery cause, and although Scheuermann herself acknowledges that this movement offered the rare chance for radicals and conservatives alike to find a shared common ground (84), she fails to explore how More's ideas, on this issue and others, evolved over time. Did she start out with conservative views or develop them as she grew older? Were political and historical events and circumstances decisive in molding her perspective? In taking an historical approach to her subject, Scheuermann whets, but then fails to fully satisfy, the reader's appetite for analysis regarding change over time.

On the other hand, Scheuermann's choice of methodology is sure to attract a wide audience. Since the book straddles two disciplines, it will undoubtedly appeal to students of history as well as of literature. And while it focuses on British writers, the fact that it deals extensively with moral discourse and Thomas Paine makes it pertinent to readers interested in the history of American radicalism and social commentary. Last but not least, Scheuermann's subject matter resonates with current political discourse, especially with regard to welfare reform. In that sense it not only illuminates our understanding of the past, but also provides perspectives relevant to today's social issues.

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The Gondola PHILADELPHIA & the Battle of Lake Champlain. By John R. Bratten. (Studies in Nautical Archaeology, Number Six. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002. 249 pages. Appendix, notes, glossary, index. $34.95.)

Over the last several decades, small-scale or local studies have assumed an increasingly prominent role in historical writing. Eschewing the "grand synthesis," which attempts to establish a coherent interpretive framework explaining broad movements and monumental events, many scholars have adopted an interdisciplinary approach to focus on one particular aspect of a larger historical issue to demonstrate its utility in illuminating related topics and open up new avenues of inquiry. John R. Bratten's examination of the Revolutionary War gondola *Philadelphia* is such a study, and it adds a shiny new tile to the expansive mosaic of American naval history. A nautical archaeologist and conservator holding a doctorate in anthropology, Bratten does not grapple with controversial historical questions. Instead, he presents a meticulously researched and richly documented account of what was arguably the pivotal military engagement of the Revolutionary War, and expertly details the origins and fate of one naval vessel to reveal insights into eighteenth-century ship-building and seamanship.

The gondola *Philadelphia*, a shallow-draft gunboat of fifty-three feet mount-

ing three cannon and propelled by sail and oars, was part of a polyglot flotilla commanded by Benedict Arnold in 1776. After failing in his bold attempt to invade Canada and seize Quebec, the dynamic Arnold was given command of American naval forces on Lake Champlain, a waterway the British hoped to utilize in an offensive that would separate the northern American colonists from their fellow rebels in the South. The American fleet that contested the British for control of the lake consisted of several captured British ships as well as a number of hastily constructed vessels, including the *Philadelphia*. On October 11, 1776, Arnold led his ships into action against a better-trained and better-equipped British force. "The Battle of Lake Champlain" ended with much of Arnold's force captured or destroyed. However, having been delayed in launching their planned invasion by the necessity of assembling a fleet to oppose Arnold's, the British were obliged to postpone the offensive until spring, giving the Americans time to build the army that would achieve victory at Saratoga in 1777 and thereby pave the way for France's alliance with the Americans.

Bratten's account of the battle, including his explanation of strategies, preparations, and tactics, reflects prevailing conventional wisdom, and his narrative is generally delivered in a rather mechanical fashion. However, his use of vivid quotations engenders an air of freshness and immediacy. Major General Horatio Gates' impatient acidity is revealed in his complaint that the ships under construction were behind schedule because the builders "must be very ill-attended to, or very ignorant of their business" (4), while Arnold's ambition and arrogance are evident in a letter to Gates: "I am very Confident, the Enemy will not Dare attempt Crossing the Lake . . . I have some thoughts of going to Congress, & beging leave to resign—do you think they will make me a Major General" (48).

While most of the book will be readily accessible to the general reader, the chapter entitled "Constructing the *Philadelphia*" utilizes a host of terms that will confound those unfamiliar with the construction of wooden ships. A glossary is provided, but it is incomplete. Similarly, three maps are included in other chapters, but many locations mentioned in the text are omitted, and no useful tactical maps accompany the narrative.

These points of concern, however, do not detract significantly from the book's overall effect. Bratten is particularly successful in illustrating the difficulties the Americans faced and overcame in expeditiously building a fleet on Lake Champlain, such as shortages of supplies and skilled workers, which forced Arnold to place housing carpenters under the direction of shipwrights and transform conscripted soldiers into sailors. In addition, Bratten's description of the numerous artifacts recovered from the *Philadelphia* when it was salvaged in 1935 is effectively linked to more than ninety photographs and line drawings, which afford the reader a graphic connection to the men who built and sailed the vessels in Arnold's fleet. Furthermore, he includes a discussion of the preservation and exhibition of the *Philadel-*

phia, as well as a brief chapter on the construction and handling characteristics of a full-sized, working replica.

Bratten's work contains much to recommend it to both general readers and those interested in the technical aspects of sailing ship construction, and he effectively supports his final assertion that "Arnold and the crewmen of the small American navy demonstrated the patriotic resolve and rebel determination that would eventually win American independence" (164).

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Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Volume 5. Edited by Peter Cozzens. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002. 736 pages. Maps, notes on sources and contributors, index. Cloth, $39.95.)

One of the most valuable sources for the Civil War historian is the massive collection of essays by the war's participants first published in 1888 as *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. The editors of the original four-volume anthology, Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel of *The Century Magazine*, combed newspapers and magazines of the period for first person accounts of the war's key events. The result of their effort is a work of enduring significance. Generations of Civil War historians have found *Battles and Leaders* to be an invaluable asset to their understanding of that critical period in the history of the United States. Despite their best efforts, Buel and Johnson could only select so many articles for publication. Today, the University of Illinois Press has embarked on an ambitious project to pick up where Buel and Johnson left off by compiling additional essays for publication with the same title as the original.

Career foreign service officer and accomplished Civil War historian Peter Cozzens edited the first volume of the new *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, and his choices are nothing short of outstanding. Cozzens followed the general method used by the first editors in selecting essays written by the participants and first published in long-forgotten magazines and newspapers. Most of his fifty-three choices originally appeared in print after the original *Battles and Leaders* was published. Cozzens's selections are noteworthy for their historical accuracy, for lively debates between participants, and because most have never before been reprinted. As Cozzens himself notes in the introduction to *Volume 5*, he actively "sought out controversial pieces" (xx). Fellow Union generals Winfield Scott Hancock and Oliver Otis Howard face off in dueling articles, each claiming credit for choosing the Union's defensive positions at the Battle of Gettysburg. Confederate General Henry Heth weighs in on the oft-debated question: Who was responsible for Confederate defeat at Gettysburg? Heth's answer, Jeb Stuart, is hardly surprising, but his article provides another piece of the Gettysburg puzzle from a key participant.

Other noteworthy contributions include Montgomery Blair on the contributions of Missouri Unionists to the North's war effort, Ulysses S. Grant's defense of Fitz-John Porter, Joshua Chamberlain—the hero of Little Round Top—on the Battle of Frederickburg, Isaac Wayne MacVeagh's account of Abraham Lincoln's Pennsylvania trip to deliver the Gettysburg Address, Edward Porter Alexander with the Confederate version of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania campaigns, Joseph E. Johnston on his surrender negotiations with William T. Sherman, and many others. Of particular interest to students of Maryland history are two interesting essays on the Antietam campaign. Cozzens, like the original editors, has generously illustrated the articles with period engravings, photographs, and maps.

There is very little to disapprove of in this fine volume. Some of the period maps have not reproduced well and are virtually unusable. Had the publisher included better battle maps such as those found in the *West Point Atlas of American Wars*, an excellent book would be much improved. Another small quibble is that Cozzens, unlike the original editors, included almost no essays about the war's naval operations. A short piece by Union General Egbert L. Viele entitled "Avenging First Bull Run: The Port Royal Expedition," is the sole exception. This omission is surprising given the rich naval history of the Civil War. Still, these minor criticisms do not detract from the uniform excellence of Cozzens's selections and the judiciousness of his editing. In short, the fifth volume of *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* will soon rival its predecessor as one of the most useful and illuminating collections of first person accounts of the most important events of the Civil War. Civil War historians and those with a general interest in the war will find this book to be an indispensable addition to their libraries. In the introduction to this volume, Cozzens writes that this collection "is a stirring and worthy continuation" (xxi) of the original series. I heartily agree.

Kevin J. Weddle
U.S. Army War College

From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice. By Sarah A. Leavitt. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 250 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth $49.95; paper $18.95)

From its origins in the 1830s to its multicultural, Feng Shui adaptations in the early twenty-first century, domestic advice literature is the stuff of which domestic fantasies are made. Well-furnished parlors mark families as having entered the middle class. Open kitchens indicate that women, too, are included in family life, and colonial-style furniture signifies patriotism and a reverence for the nation's past. Domestic advice-givers assist us as we define our domestic roles, our values, and our selves through our things. Sarah Leavitt's entertaining exploration of domestic advisors and their writings brings together material culture and cultural

history to help us understand those dreams and their creators. Advice to women has covered topics ranging from furnishings to fashion, dirt to domestic values, but the real fantasy, Leavitt argues, has been that women can effect social change from their positions in the nation's homes. If they have not succeeded, by and large, it is not for lack of trying on the part of their advisors.

As the title indicates, Leavitt's work traces the writings of dozens of advice-givers over time. Through a variety of themes, including science, scientific management, Christian doctrine, Americanization, and family togetherness, domestic advisors have taken the science of home economics to a wide audience of women. They have disagreed about the degree to which women can influence their wider worlds, or the ways in which they should attempt to do so, but domestic advisors have agreed on one crucial thing—American culture is unlikely to free women from their domestic responsibilities. Domestic advisor Ethel Peyser's 1922 argument applies equally well today, "Neither the employment of women in war-work nor the radical challenges of the ultra-feminist has altered the fundamental fact that the home is women's realm" (51).

In the domestic fantasies Peyser and her prolific colleagues have written, then, the domestic space itself takes on public significance. Ideally, through domestic advice women learn to make connections between the home and the factory, home values and public values. They realize that clean air and water are issues as important to them as home fashions and recipes. Domestic advisors have long urged women to make these connections, but none could make the household or the woman in it into what Helen Campbell called "the parent of the state" (51). In this the women at home fail the advisors, and the advisors fail their readers. Although the advisors appreciate the home and value women for their work in it, they also fail to recognize the structural inequalities that limit women's greater participation in the world outside the home.

They have also failed to appreciate the diversity of women who work in the nation's homes. Although many of the early advisors Leavitt features made their livings as writers who examined, in other contexts, social injustice, when it came to the home they shared the culture's obsession with white, middle-class homemakers. Rarely, for example, did they appreciate the cultural traditions immigrant homemakers carried with them. Instead, they saw the home and their role as domestic advisors as significant Americanizing influences. They would reach and reform women "through their bodies, their choice of foods, and the objects in their homes" (91). This authoritative voice also created conflict with working-class American women, who viewed the acquisition and display of goods, rather than simplification of domestic space, as an indication of status. If the home was the family's demonstration of values, it was not an uncontested site.

Leavitt leaves off with Martha Stewart and provides a complex reading of

Stewart and her appeal. Domestic advice, Leavitt concludes, does not simply circumscribe women's worlds but "illuminates national priorities, addresses public dilemmas, and reminds us that what we have in our homes connects us to the larger culture" (206). As Martha Stewart's monthly column, "Remembering," acknowledges, she carries on traditions that are now almost two hundred years old. Martha Stewart remembers. With Leavitt's able assistance, so do we.

Jennifer Scanlon
Bowdoin College

Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel. By James R. Goff Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 404 pages. Notes, index. Paper, $24.95.)

James R. Goff Jr., has written a wonderful book. *Close Harmony* recovers the rich tension between innovation and nostalgia, piety and profit, in the history of southern gospel music. As one of the four "great genres of grass roots music" alongside jazz, blues, and country, southern gospel "played a primary role in establishing the dominant styles of popular music in America" (2). The story highlights southerners' knack for turning a profit from nostalgia.

Goff, a professor at Appalachian State University and chief historical consultant for the Southern Gospel Music Hall of Fame in Pigeon Forge, Tennessee, offers a balanced account of what he says "might be the best-kept secret in America" (xii). His careful history ranges from one gem to the next. We learn about "musical democracy," the politics of shape-note singing, and gospel entrepreneurs who were trained at the New England Conservatory of Music. The story is enhanced throughout by photographs from the recently opened Hall of Fame, and by Goff's personal accounts of singing conventions and personalities. In the end, Goff demonstrates both the importance of southern Gospel music and the rich insights that can be gained from a history of popular music.

Goff begins with the nineteenth-century roots of southern gospel. Because the tradition was not indigenous to the South, the opening chapters offer a fine overview of the history of religious music in early America. Southerners took New England singing schools, hymns, and the shape note system that grew out of early revivals and made them their own by the late nineteenth century, recalling Edward L. Ayers' comment that much of New South culture was invented, not inherited.

And it was invented in specific denominational and geographic contexts. From the beginning, gospel music was the property mainly of Baptists, Nazarenes, and Pentecostals, and it thrived in places like Kosciusko, Mississippi, Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, and Hartford, Arkansas. Throughout, Goff stresses the rural affinities of southern gospel. What he leaves unexamined is the close tie between gospel and towns, and the aspirations of those who sang their way off the farm. "God, if you'll help me make a living for my family in the gospel music business," Tom Speer

prayed over his broken plow in the summer of 1923, "I'll never walk behind a plow again" (125). Within a year Speer sold his farm, bought a house in town, and entered the music business full time. The early history of gospel music was closely tied to singing schools, and from the beginning, the singing schools wed entrepreneurial energy to religious fervor. "Teaching music . . . is, in this place, pretty good business," gospel pioneer Joseph Funk wrote (43).

This ambition contributed to an ethos of intense competition that drew some of its energy from the famously sectarian nature of religion in the South. James David Vaughn built his empire on singing schools, publishing ventures, radio programs, recordings, and even a phonograph on which to play them. Virgil Stamps left his place as a Vaughn employee to found his own music company in 1924, sparking bitter feelings. But Stamps had learned the trade well—he became Vaughn's major competitor in the 1930s. Vaughn established the first gospel quartet as a marketing tool for his books in 1910, but the form became wildly successful, and endures as one of the distinctives of gospel music.

After World War II, gospel music acquired all the trappings of an entertainment industry with recording companies, agencies and promoters. Individual performers began to rely less on the patronage of publishing companies and began to trade on their own songs and talent. Simultaneously, gospel music moved away from singing schools and conventions to radio, recordings, and eventually, television. Controversy raged over whether it was appropriate for this "clean entertainment" to share venues with "secular" music, such as the Ryman Auditorium in Nashville or variety shows on television. The founding of the Gospel Music Association in 1964 promised to solve some of these issues, but instead itself became a source of controversy.

The appearance of "contemporary gospel" beginning in the 1960s polarized the industry, and eventually resulted in the founding of the Southern Gospel Music Association in 1995. The fortunes of southern gospel were tied to those of increasingly visible Christian conservatives in the 1970s and 1980s. Goff's fine study underscores the extent of dissent within a movement often portrayed as a monolith. In reaction to "Jesus Rock," conservative performers declared their political support for conservatives like Barry Goldwater and redefined their work as ministry, not entertainment. This differed sharply from earlier artists, who saw themselves simply as performers. The result was a growing divide between "traditional" and "contemporary" gospel. Thus this traditionally innovative musical form became a magnet for nostalgia.

This reader would have appreciated elaboration of how "gospel singing borrowed freely from the musical innovations emanating from . . . blues and country music, as well as from older hymnody and spirituals," particularly the mutual influence of black and white gospel singers (6). Reflection on how southern gospel music remains "southern" in an era when its fortunes rise and fall with American

evangelicalism as a whole would also have been instructive. But these are minor criticisms of an engaging book that should be of enormous interest to anyone interested in the social, cultural, and religious history of the American South.

Beth Barton Schweiger
University of Arkansas

It Seems to Me: Selected Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt. Edited by Leonard C. Schulp and Donald W. Whisenhunt. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001. 282 pages. Bibliography, index. Cloth $30.)

Eleanor Roosevelt was a prolific writer. From 1923 until her death in 1962, she wrote twenty-seven books, 555 articles, more than eight thousand columns, and delivered more than seventy-five speeches a year, all without a ghostwriter. A dedicated correspondent, she wrote an average of 150 letters a day during her White House years and approximately one hundred letters a day from 1945 to 1962. While the majority of her material is housed in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York, a tremendous amount of material is scattered in archives around the nation and throughout the world.

Leonard C. Schulp, an independent historian based in Akron, Ohio, and Donald Whisenhunt, professor of history at Western Washington University, have chosen to concentrate on the post–White House correspondence housed in the Hyde Park collections. This uneven selection leads to an uneven anthology. Eleanor Roosevelt often penned the most significant parts of her correspondence in ink on the bottom of typed letters and this information can only be gleaned from searching the recipient's rather than the author's correspondence. By relying on the carbon copies of outgoing correspondence, Schulp and Whisenhunt miss many of the intriguing political comments she made to Bernard Baruch, Adlai Stevenson, Mary Lasker, and Abba Schwartz, for example.

The letters that are included are quite interesting and do reveal the scope of her interests, political sophistication, and influence, and reflect their commitment to "show Roosevelt as she really was—a diverse personality—complex, generous, and judgmental (10). Schulp and Whisenhunt wisely eliminated previously published family correspondence and strove to exclude letters that had been published in other sources. They also opted to focus "more than 80%" of this volume on her post–White House career, thus filling a key gap in ER historiography. However, since at least half of her outgoing correspondence during this time was handwritten and few copies were kept of the outgoing typed correspondence, the volume suffers from their decision to only search papers housed in Hyde Park. Morever, the average reader, for whom this anthology is intended, would benefit greatly from headers that set the letters in the political context of the time in which they were written rather than simply recapitulating the letters themselves. Rather than

follow the pattern first laid out by Joseph P. Lash in his two anthologies of ER's correspondence, *A World of Love: Eleanor Roosevelt and Her Friends* and *Love, Eleanor*, in which there is more interpretation than document, Schulp and Whisenhunt opt for the exact opposite—as many documents and as little context as possible. Their decisions piques our interest in ER but leaves the reader wanting more.

These caveats withstanding, *It Seems to Me* (the title of her monthly question and answer column) begins to fill the gap in the scholarship and can help draw attention to her political vision and the courage she took in defense of democracy.

Allida Black
The George Washington University

Notices

Signature Lecture Series

The Maryland Historical Society launched its newest public program, the Signature Lecture Series this fall. The series features nationally prominent scholars who will speak on a variety of local and national subjects. Eric Foner, DeWitt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia University, will give the second lecture in the series entitled "The Story of American Freedom." Professor Foner will trace freedom's evolution and definitions, the social movements that have expanded the idea of freedom, and the ways Americans use it as a rallying cry in times of crisis, including post-September 11. This event will be held on Friday, February 21, 2003 at 7:30 p.m. in the Kraushaar Auditorium, Goucher College, 1021 Dulaney Valley Road, Towson, Md. 21204. Cost per person is $10 for Maryland Historical Society members and $15 for non-members. For additional information and to purchase tickets, call the society's Box Office at 410-685-3750, x321 or register online at www.mdhs.org.

Undergraduate Essay Contest

The Maryland Historical Society annually honors the best essays written by undergraduates in the field of Maryland and regional history. Essays are judged on the originality and freshness of their approach to research in primary sources (original historiographical essays will also be considered), the significance of their contribution to Maryland history, and their literary merit and technical form. First prize is $500, second prize $250, third prize $100. Winners will receive a one-year membership to the Maryland Historical Society. All entries will be considered for publication in the *Maryland Historical Magazine.* A cover letter containing the student's college, major, and mentoring professor must accompany each entry. Send four copies of the essay to the Maryland Historical Society Essay Contest, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. Entries must be postmarked by January 1, 2003.

2003 Virginia Historical Society Research Fellowship Program

To promote the interpretation of Virginia history and access to its collections, the Virginia Historical Society offers fellowships of up to four weeks a year. Awards are based on the applicants' scholarly qualifications, merits of their proposals, and appropriateness of their topics as demonstrated by citation to specific sources in our collections. Fellowships include the Andrew W. Mellon Research Fellowships, the Betty Sams Christian Fellowships in business history, the Frances Lewis

Fellowships in women's studies, and the Reese Fellowships in American Bibliography and the History of the Book in the Americas. The society welcomes doctoral candidate applicants. Send an original and three copies of the following: a cover letter, c.v., two letters of recommendation (sent separately), and a description of the research project not longer than two double-spaced pages. The deadline for applications is February 1, 2003. Awards will be announced by March 15, 2003. Send applications to Dr. Nelson D. Lankford, Chairman, Research Fellowship Committee, Virginia Historical Society, 428 N. Boulevard, Richmond, VA 23220; telephone 804-342-9672; fax 804-355-2399; nlankford@vahistorical.org. http://www.vahistorical.org

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's Scholars in Residence Program

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is now accepting applications for its 2003–2004 Scholars in Residence Program. The program provides support for full-time research and study in any of the commission's facilities, including the Pennsylvania State Archives, the State Museum of Pennsylvania, and the twenty-six historic sites and museums across the state. Residency programs are open to anyone conducting research on Pennsylvania history—academic scholars, public sector history professionals, independent scholars, graduate students, educators, writers, and filmmakers. The application deadline is January 10, 2003. Complete information and application materials may be found at the PHMC web site, www.phmc.state.pa.us. For additional information contact Linda Shopes, Scholars in Residence Program Manager, at 717-772-3257 or via email at lshopes@state.pa.us.

Organization of American Historians, ABC-CLIO Award

The ABC-CLIO America: History and Life Award is a biennial award that recognizes and encourages American history scholarship in journal literature that advances new topics or new perspectives on accepted interpretations. Individuals as well as editors are encouraged to submit their articles. Entries must be published during the two-year period November 16, 2000 through November 15, 2002. One copy of each entry must be sent directly to the awards committee by December 1, 2002. Names and addresses are posted on the web site, www.oah.org. The winning author will receive his/her prize of $750 at 2003 Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Memphis, Tennessee, April 3–6. For additional information, contact the OAH, 112 North Bryan Avenue, Bloomington, IN, 47408 (812-855-7311).

AASLH Awards

Maryland earned two awards at the American Association for State and Local

History's Annual Meeting in Portland Oregon. The Jewish Museum of Maryland received a Certificate of Merit for General Excellence. The association also recognized Samuel Hopkins with a certificate of merit for his lifelong commitment to the history of Baltimore. The Maryland Historical Society has long benefited from Mr. Hopkins's indefatigable efforts, and we now extend to him our congratulations on receiving this most prestigious award. The program honors significant achievement in the field of state and local history.

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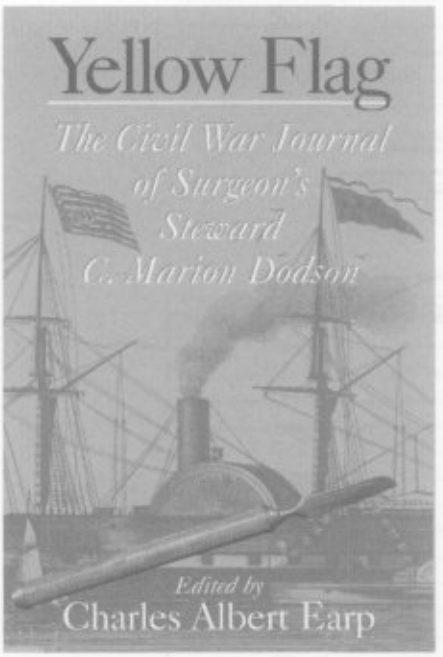

In March 1864, C. Marion Dodson left his comfortable home on Maryland's Eastern Shore to enlist in the U.S. Navy as a pharmacist. Barely weeks after joining a Union fleet on blackade in the Gulf of Mexico, another ship in the squadron raised the "yellow flag" — the signal that yellow fever had stricken its crew. they desperately needed medical attention, his captain told Dodson. Someone had to go aboard and wager his life against the odds . . .

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CHARLES ALBERT EARP is most recently co-author with Daniel Carroll Toomey of *Marylanders in Bue: The Artillery and the Cavalry* (1999).

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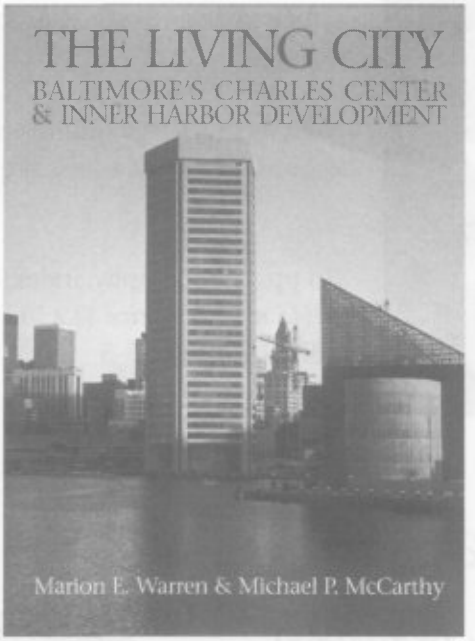

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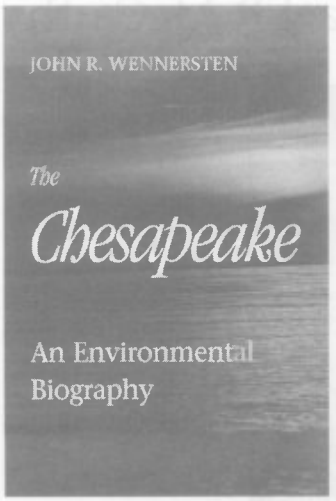

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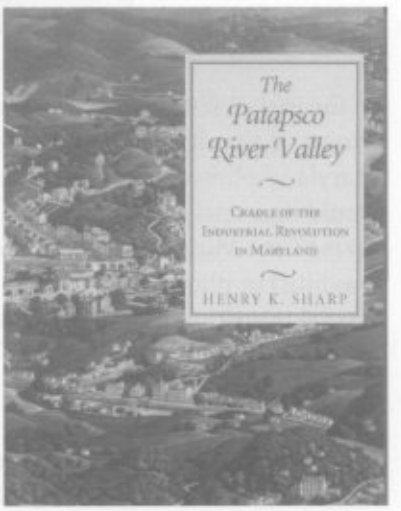

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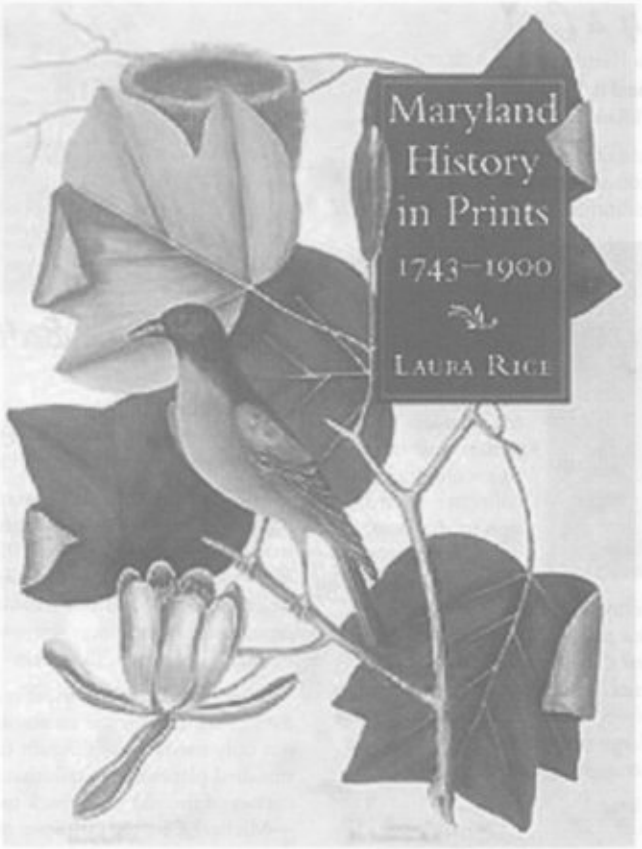

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Answering Their Country's Call

Marylanders in World War II

edited by Michael H. Rogers

foreword by William Donald Schaefer

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